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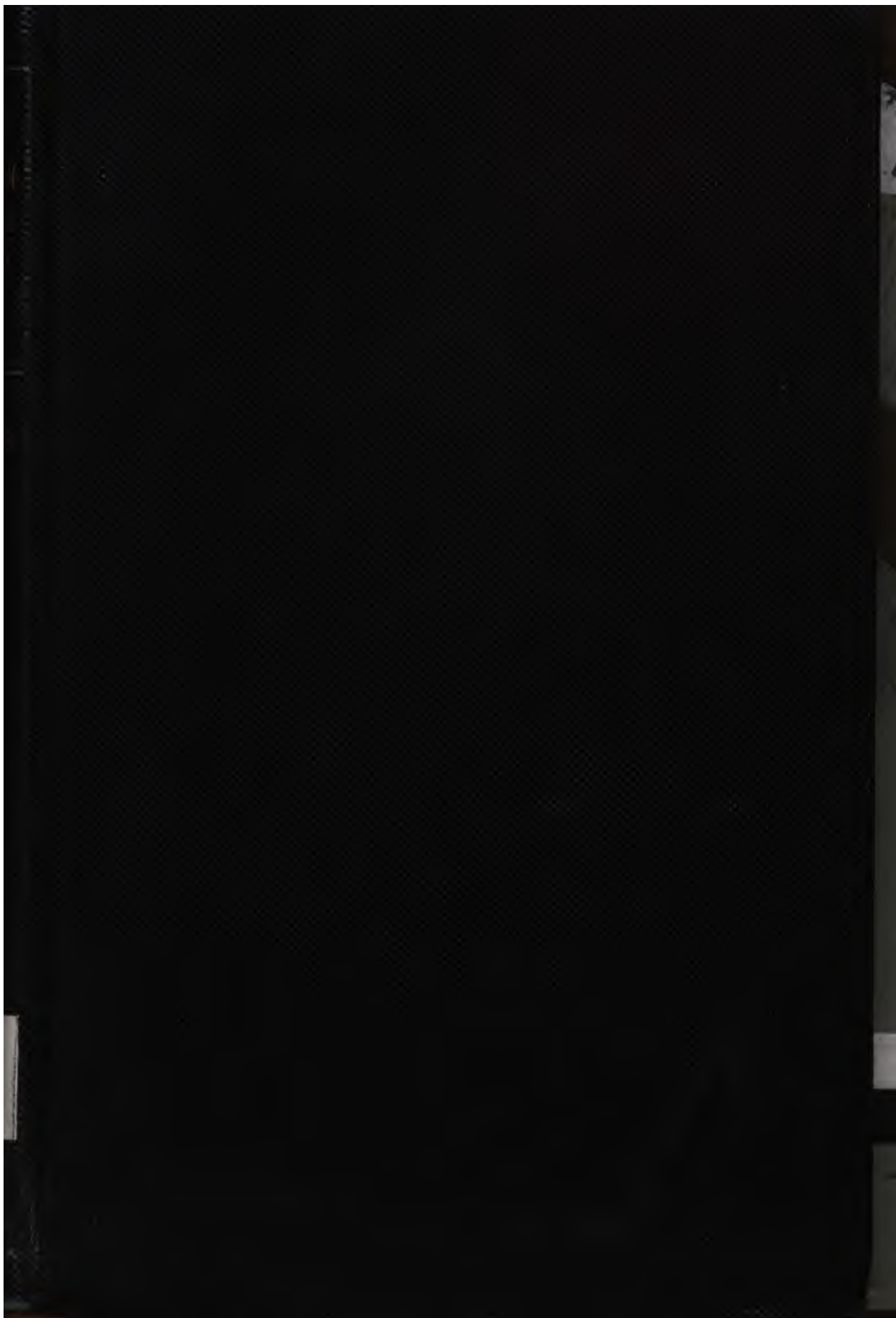
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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

GEORGE F. MOORE,

Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

NINETEENTH VOLUME,

SECOND HALF.

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# CONTENTS

OF

## NINETEENTH VOLUME,

### SECOND HALF.

	Page
THE POSITION OF THE GOPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA IN VEDIC LITERATURE.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. ....	1
THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF THE VEDIC WORD <i>vidātha</i> .—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. ....	12
THE PUṆJĀB AND THE RIG-VEDA.—By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn. ....	19
NOTES FROM INDIA.—By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.	
1. Bridles in sculpture and painting. 2. Buddha's wooly hair. 3. The veiled Jain at Bādāmi. 4. Wooden fences in India. 5. The Anandasram. ....	29
THE EPISTOLARY LITERATURE OF THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.—By Dr. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. Part II. Notes and Glossary to the Selected Letters. ....	42
CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE JĀIMINIYA BRĀHMAṆA TO THE HISTORY OF THE BRĀHMAṆA LITERATURE.—By HANNS OERTEL, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Second Series:	
1. Saramā and the Paṇis. 2. The ritual of burial according to the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa. 3. Indrasya kilbiṣāṇi. ....	97 ;
THE BUDDHISTIC TECHNICAL TERMS <i>upādāna</i> AND <i>upādiseṣa</i> .—By ARTHUR ONCKEN LOVEJOY, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. ....	126
APĀM NĀPĀT IN THE RIG-VEDA.—By Dr. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Oberlin, Ohio. ....	137
THE ORIGINAL HINDU TRIAD.—By Dr. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Oberlin, Ohio. ....	145
THE MILK-DRINKING HĀNSAS OF SANSKRIT POETRY.—By CHARLES R. LANMAN, Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. ....	151
SHANGAR AND SISĒRA.—By GEORGE F. MOORE, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. ....	159

<b>Proceedings at Hartford, Connecticut, April 14-16, 1898</b> . . . . .	161
Attendance . . . . .	161
Correspondence and Necrology . . . . .	162
Reports of Treasurer, Librarian, Editor . . . . .	163-165
Members elected . . . . .	165
Time and place of next meeting (Cambridge, Mass., April 6, 1899) . . . . .	167
Officers elected . . . . .	167
Papers presented . . . . .	168
<b>Additions to the Library, April, 1896-April, 1898</b> . . . . .	171
<b>List of members, 1898</b> . . . . .	182
<b>List of exchanges</b> . . . . .	192
<b>Constitution and by-laws</b> . . . . .	195
<b>List and prices of publications</b> . . . . .	199
<b>Notices to contributors and general notices</b> . . . . .	200

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

*The Position of the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa in Vedic Literature.*—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

“Wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt,  
Das habt ihr ihm glücklich abgeguckt.”

THE edition of the GB. in the Bibliotheca Indica<sup>1</sup> is a marvel of editorial ineptitude. Dr. Otto von Böhtlingk has subjected the first prapāṭhaka to a critical review,<sup>2</sup> and has pointed out a considerable list of blunders in that part of the work.<sup>3</sup> The text, however, grows worse as it goes on; the list of obvious mistakes is portentous. Especially do the editors betray a most thorough-going lack of knowledge of the subject-matter of ṅrāuta-literature, as when they consistently print the words *praūga* and *evayāmarut* as three words (e. g. *pra u gam*, p. 130, l. 4; *pra u ge*, p. 137, ll. 6, 7, 9; *eva yā marutaṁ*, p. 170, last line). Inasmuch as the text is to a great extent a compilation from other Brāhmaṇas, the work of the editors can to a considerable degree be controlled and amended, as, e. g., by comparing GB. i. 5. 2 with ÇB. xii. 2. 1. 1–9 (*pras'ne yo*, for *prasneyo*, *kulyudaghna* for *kulphadaghna*); GB. ii. 1. 11 with TS. ii. 5. 5. 3 (*chaṁ vaṣaṭ* for *chambaṭ*; *anuhitā-*

<sup>1</sup> *The Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa of the Atharva-Veda.* Edited by Rājendra-lāla Mitra and Haracandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Calcutta, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> *Berichte der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, April, 1896, pp. 12 ff. of the reprint.

<sup>3</sup> P. 8, ll. 1, 2, read *camasādhvaryavo* for *camasā*, *adhvaryavo*, not throwing out *adhvaryavo* with Böhtlingk, p. 15. The first hemistich of the mantra in GB. i. 1. 9 (p. 6, l. 9) is quoted by Sāyaṇa, Introd. to the AV., p. 5, as *ṅreṣṭho hi vedas tapaso 'dhijāto brahmajñānām ḥṛdaye sambabhūva*.

*mukhyam upagalmo for anu hr̥itamukhy apagalbho ; pragalmo for pragalbho ; na dr̥tyanta for 'nādr̥tya tad*); GB. ii. 2. 6 with AB. i. 18 (*sambharāmīti for sambharāmeti ; sambhṛtyocatur for sambhṛtyocur*); GB. ii. 3. 6 (latter half) with AB. vii. 33. 6 (*pratyaviharttum anarihan for pratyavahartum anarhan*); and so in very many more cases.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the future editor of the GB. will find his task sensibly relieved by following out the correspondences of the GB. with other Brāhmaṇa-texts as stated in the sequel of the present article. In general, the Hindu editors are conscious neither of any connection between the GB. and the remaining Atharvan texts (*Samhitā, Vāitāna, Kāuṅika, etc.*), nor of any dependence of the GB. upon the older Brāhmaṇa-texts. Nor do they treat the text as though it followed any connected plan: in the main each section, or group of sections, is dealt with individually, as though it were a note or excerpt, without any reference to the scheme of the gr̥āuta-sacrifice. The case is by no means quite as bad as that.

<sup>1</sup> The statement of the entire list of corrections which suggest themselves would amount almost to a new edition; we may content ourselves here with a small anthology: p. 23, last line, *krodhopaṅḍāgham for krodho 'paṅ ḍāgham*; p. 24, l. 2 from bottom, *pāpīyāni for pāpīyāni iva*; p. 25, l. 16, *uptāya for utthāya*; p. 27, l. 16, *papātāsmataṁ for papātāsmṛtaṁ*; p. 29, l. 6, *asi tanyūr for asitajūr*; p. 29, l. 14, *uccāyatam tam for uccā patantam*; p. 58, l. 5, *'yeptyañce for 'yettham ce*; p. 60, l. 11, *yam vāi loko for 'yam, etc.* (a common type of error); p. 70, l. 2 from bottom, *'nnañca for 'nvañca*; p. 80, l. 2 from bottom, *'tā bhṛgv for 'tābhṛgv*; p. 96, l. 2, *ṣruṣṭir for ṣnuṣṭir*; p. 174, l. 2, *anitir for anvitir*; p. 115, l. 15, *stutoṣe for stuteṣe*; p. 116, l. 15, *agnī, agnīn for agnīd agnīn*; p. 119, l. 15, *pi vā, somam for pibā somam*; p. 121, l. 14, *'tṛṣyantir for 'tṛpyantir*; p. 126, l. 13, *vīryavattayā for vīryavattāyā*; p. 141, l. 9, *ayamīyam for apamīyam*; p. 142, l. 5, *yanno for 'yam no*; p. 146, l. 1, *ety ū ṣu vṛavāni tā agnir for ehy ū ṣu vṛavāni tā agnir*; p. 150, l. 1, *nivikṣyasyate for nivik chasyate*; p. 150, l. 2, *puroṛatna for puroṛuñ na*; p. 152, l. 1, *antaḥsadaḥ, sandhiṣṭhyā for āntaḥsadasaḥ dhiṣṭhyā*; p. 154, l. 1, *jajñire. sa saṁskṛtvā for yajñaveṣasaḥ kṛtvā*; p. 154, l. 2, *viṣṭadvyarchat for viṣvañ vyārchat*; p. 156, l. 7, *tām tā for tāmtā*; p. 158, l. 12, *iṣamḥ ca svadhī for iṣam svaḥ ca dhī*; p. 160, l. 1, *satyo for ā satyo*; p. 161, l. 4, *tvaṁ hi for nv ahaṁ*; p. 162, l. 1, *māmūṣu for imām ū ṣu*; p. 163, l. 9, *kaviṁ r̥cchāmi for kavīnr̥ icchāmi*; p. 167, l. 15, *stuno for astu no*; p. 169, l. 9, *kalpayati for kalpayeti*; p. 170, l. 13, *tanyūnkha iti for tām nyūnkhayati*; p. 172, ll. 9 and 14, *prajāpatih for prajātiḥ*; p. 180, l. 6, *'yajñā for jajñā*; p. 181, l. 18, *dadhikrāvḥo for dadhikrāvḥo*. In general the mantra-quotations are especially faulty.

The most important single critical point of view in the analysis of the GB. is the distinction between the pūrva-brāhmaṇa in five prapāṭhakas and the uttara-brāhmaṇa in six prapāṭhakas. The pūrva is in no mean measure original, especially when it devotes itself to the glorification of the Atharvan and its priests; it does not present materials in accord and connection with the order of the sacrifice (*yajñakrama*) either in the Vāitāna or in any of the other grāuta-texts. The uttara follows in the main the order of the Vāit. by compiling—with slight Atharvanic adaptations—from a considerable variety of sources a fairly connected Brāhmaṇa to accompany the action of the Vāit. These adaptations are sporadic, hap-hazard, and incomplete both as regards subject-matter and mantras; the scrappy character of the result is superficially evident. Yet in a general way the uttara in its relation to Vāit. may be compared with the relation of the first nine books of the ÇB. to the original nucleus of the VS. (books i.-xviii.); the pūrva being comparable with (as it is to some extent dependent upon) ÇB. x.-xiv.<sup>1</sup> Both halves of the GB., however,—this is the second important point of view,—are very late productions, one cannot say from how recent a century; both halves were composed after the Vāit., without, or almost without, any independent Atharvanic tradition. Moreover, the uttara-brāhmaṇa makes the impression of a production later than the pūrva-brāhmaṇa. Thus the usual chronological relations in the redaction of Brāhmaṇa, Çrāutasūtra, and Gṛhyasūtra are turned about in the Atharvan: the Kāuṅika (Gṛhyasūtra) was composed before the Vāitāna (Çrāutasūtra),<sup>2</sup> the Vāitāna before the GB.,—the cone is inverted and balances upon a mere point of genuine Atharvanic tradition, as far as both Çrāutasūtra and Brāhmaṇa are concerned. We may here characterize the relation of the GB. to the remaining Atharvan texts and to the Brāhmaṇa-literature in general, beginning with the uttara-brāhmaṇa, since its character is much less complex than that of the pūrva-brāhmaṇa. This will be followed elsewhere by a somewhat detailed account of the contents of the entire Brāhmaṇa, section by section.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 118 and 180 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See the author's article *On the position of the Vāitāna-Sūtra in the Literature of the Atharva-Veda*, JAOS. xi. pp. 375 ff.; cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Literatur* (Bühler's *Grundriss*), pp. 35 ff.

1. **The Uttara-Brahmana.**—For the purpose of defining the history of this production it will be of advantage not to follow the text section by section, but to deal with certain select themes in the order of their clearness and suggestiveness. We may choose first the treatment of the seasonal offerings (*cāturmāsyaṇi*). To this theme are devoted sections ii. 1. 19–26 of the GB. These are purloined with slight modifications from the KB., being the fifth book of that work in toto. The Vāit. treats this subject in 8. 8–9. 27, and there are of course correspondences between it and GB. due to the sameness of the subject. Thus, the opening sūtra of Vāit. (8. 8) is literally identical with the opening of GB. (ii. 1. 19). The GB. does not mention the mantras of the Vāit., except that it works in the two formulas *om svadhā* and *astu svadhā* (Vāit. 9. 11) in ii. 1. 24. We cannot therefore speak even of adaptation to the Vāitāna. The transaction is an act of wholesale borrowing, to use no severer term, with a sporadic recollection of one or another point in the Vāitāna. There can be no question that this part of the GB. was compiled subsequently to both KB. and Vāit. Even more characteristic is the treatment of the *atirātra* (soma-sacrifice), GB. ii. 5. 1–5. This is compiled from two sources, AB. iv. 5 and 6, and KB. xvii. 7–9, baldly put down, one after the other, without any attempt to assimilate the materials. Thus the three *paryayas* (periods) of the *atirātra* are explained twice as typifying the successive expulsion of the Asuras from the three periods of the night, once in the words of AB. iv. 5, the second time in the words of KB. xvii. 8. Very striking, too, is the case of GB. ii. 3. 11, illustrating, in the course of the *agniṣṭoma*, the passage Vāit. 21. 3, 4 : the Brāhmaṇa is copied with slight alterations from KB. xi. 4 and 5; the compiler does not even take the trouble to expunge the expression, *iti ha smāha kausītakiḥ*, which of itself would betray its origin : indeed in general, throughout the text, the Rishis are borrowed by our Atharvavedin along with the productions in which they figure. Again, cases of undisguised pilfering appear in the three *kāmyeṣṭayah*, GB. ii. 1. 13–15, which reproduce almost verbatim MS. ii. 1. 10, and in the treatment of the *anvāhārya*, GB. ii. 1. 6, taken from MS. i. 4. 6 (p. 54, l. 3 ff.). These are only a few of the cases of this kind : the *uttara* exploits especially AB. and KB., but other Brāhmaṇas, ÇB., TS., MS., and even PB., are not exempt from depredation.

The scope and quantity of these processes may next be stated numerically : of the 123 sections of the *uttara-brāhmaṇa* 79 owe

their materials either entirely or largely to older texts, as far as is known to the writer. And there can be no doubt that future search will reveal still further instances of the dependence of GB., since there are at present no regular channels through which an investigation of this kind may be carried on. The correspondences, stated now in the order of the *uttara-brāhmaṇa*, are as follows: ii. 1. 1 : KB. vi. 13;—ii. 1. 3 (latter half): KB. vi. 14 (beginning);—ii. 1. 6 : MS. i. 4. 6 (p. 54, l. 3 ff.);—ii. 1. 9, very similar to TS. ii. 5. 5. 1 ff.;—ii. 1. 10 (beginning): Kāṇḍ. 1. 29, 30;—ii. 1. 11 : TS. ii. 5. 5. 2 ff.;—ii. 1. 13-15 : MS. ii. 1. 10;—ii. 1. 18 : MS. iii. 3. 7 (p. 40, l. 2 ff.);—ii. 1. 19-26 : KB. v. (entire);—ii. 2. 2-4 : TS. vi. 2. 2. 1 ff.;—ii. 2. 6 : AB. i. 18;—ii. 2. 13 : TS. iii. 5. 2. 1;—ii. 2. 20-22 : AB. vi. 10 (complete), vi. 11. 6 ff., and vi. 12. 6 ff.;—ii. 3. 1-6 : AB. iii. 5 to 8;—ii. 3. 6 (latter half): AB. vii. 33. 5 ff.;—ii. 3. 7, 8 : AB. ii. 29, and vi. 14. 5;—ii. 3. 10 : AB. iii. 12;—ii. 3. 11 : KB. xi. 4, 5;—ii. 3. 12 : AB. iii. 14;—ii. 3. 17-19 : MS. iv. 8. 3;—ii. 3. 20, 21 : AB. iii. 23;—ii. 3. 22 : AB. iii. 24;—ii. 4. 5 : AB. vi. 3. 8-11;—ii. 4. 6 : KB. xviii. 7, 8;—ii. 4. 8 : TS. iii. 3. 8. 2 ff.;—ii. 4. 9 : TS. iii. 3. 8. 4 ff.;—ii. 4. 10 : AB. iii. 44;—ii. 4. 19 : AB. iv. 1. 5-8;—ii. 5. 1-3 : AB. iv. 5, 6;—ii. 5. 4-5 : KB. xvii. 7-9;—ii. 5. 6 : ÇB. xii. 8. 3. 1, 2;—ii. 5. 7 : ÇB. xii. 8. 3. 23-28;—ii. 5. 8 : PB. xviii. 7;—ii. 5. 11 : AB. vi. 17. 1, 2 and vi. 5;—ii. 5. 12 : AB. vi. 6;—ii. 5. 13 : AB. vi. 7;—ii. 5. 14 : AB. vi. 8;—ii. 5. 15 : AB. vi. 18. 4 ff., introduced by a sentence from AB. vi. 17. 2, and ending in a passage from AB. vi. 17. 3, 4;—finally of the 16 sections of the sixth *prapāṭhaka* all except one and a half (ii. 6. 6, and the first half of ii. 6. 7) are entirely or very largely dependent upon the fifth and especially the sixth book of the AB. These 79 sections do not by any means mark the limit of the materials in the GB. that can lay no claim to originality. Thus GB. ii. 1. 16 ; 2. 9 ; and 2. 12 are open to the suspicion that they are nothing but slightly Brāhmaṇized extracts from the *Vāit.* itself, respectively, 11. 1 ; 15. 3 ; and 16. 15-17. And there are other verbal correspondences between *Vāit.* and GB. which need not be detailed here, suggesting the superficial creation of Brāhmaṇa matter directly out of the *sūtras* of *Vāit.* Again, quite a considerable number of sections dealing with the *gastras* of the three daily *savanas* (ii. 3. 13-15 ; ii. 4. 1-3, and ii. 4. 11-18) seem to be little more than the statements of the *RV. Sūtras* worked over slightly into Brāhmaṇa-form ; cf., e. g., GB. ii. 4. 1-3 with ÇÇ. vii. 22-24 ; AÇ.

7. 4. 1 ff. Future investigations on the part of the second editor of the GB. will doubtless narrow down the limits of the original materials of the *uttara-brāhmaṇa* to a mere minimum.

Just as the *uttara-brāhmaṇa* presupposes the older *Brāhmaṇas* of the Vedic literature, so it is no less certainly based upon the existing text of the *Vāitāna*. The general correspondence of the *uttara* with *Vāit.* in the matter of themes, wording, and mantras is by no means to be judged as derivable from an indifferent source of common tradition; it represents rather an act of engrafting the *Brāhmaṇa* expositions and ideas upon such matters in the *Sūtra* as seemed to the compiler to stand in need of theological definition and motivation. One may say, in accordance with the paradoxical inter-relation of these secondary Atharvan texts, that to some extent the *Vāit.* figures, as it were, as the *Samhitā* of the GB. Thus, original mantras of *Vāit.*, or, at any rate, mantras stated in full, are frequently cited in the *uttara-brāhmaṇa* by their *pratīka*. The *Brāhmaṇa* is not consistent in these matters: the long *yajus* *Vāit.* 3. 20 is repeated in full GB. ii. 1. 7, but the *yajur*-formulas *Vāit.* 3. 14; 4. 16, are cited by *pratīka* GB. ii. 1. 3, and 4. Similarly the *gharma-sūkta* from the *Pāippalāda* is given in full *Vāit.* 14. 1, whereas its *pratīka* only appears GB. ii. 1. 6. In GB. ii. 2. 12 and ii. 2. 18 this relation is especially in evidence: GB. cites there the mantras in *Vāit.* 16. 17 and 18. 11 fragmentarily, with explanations in the manner especially in evidence in the treatment of the VS. mantras in the *Ṛg.* Very characteristic, too, for the priority of the *Vāit.* is GB. ii. 1. 16, which deals with its theme out of order and connection, whereas in *Vāit.* 11. 1 it very properly introduces the *agniṣṭoma*.

Nevertheless, the *uttara-brāhmaṇa* has certainly some, though probably very few, original sections. Thus the *prācitra*-legend, GB. ii. 1. 2, though based upon materials from older texts, betrays itself as an Atharvanic fabrication by the introduction of the clap-trap Rishis, Idhma *Āṅgīrasa* and Barhi *Āṅgīrasa*, leading up to *Brhaspati Āṅgīrasa*, who, of course, represents the Atharvanic (fourth) Brahman-priest. Section ii. 2. 5 starts with an explanation of the word *makha* in Nirukta-manner, leading up to one of those disquisitions on the defects of the sacrifice (common in the *pūrva*) which can be corrected only by the glorified *Bhṛgvaṅgi-roid*. Cf. also certain touches in ii. 1. 17; 2. 6, 14, 15; 3. 9, etc. Otherwise the originality of the *uttara* consists in a certain free-



dom in transfusing the diction of the Brāhmaṇa-materials which it has adopted; in assimilating some of their statements to Atharvanic conditions; and, above all, in changing in no small measure the mantras contained in those Brāhmaṇas to those in vogue with the Atharvans. Thus in ii. 1. 1, a passage borrowed from KB., the formula *idam aham arvāvasoḥ* is changed to *idam aham arvāgvasoḥ* (Kāuṣ. 3. 7; 137. 39); in the stomabhāga-legend, essentially identical with TS. iii. 5. 2. 1, the GB. ii. 2. 13 omits *tasmād vāsistho brahmā kāryaḥ*, because its ideal of a Brahman-priest (fourth priest) is a Bhṛgvañgirovid; in ii. 3. 10, almost identical with AB. iii. 12, the *āhāva* and *pratigara*-formulas (e. g. *adhvaryo śaṅsāvom*) appear not in their AB. form but as in Vāit. (20. 18). And other adaptations of this sort will be found upon a closer analysis of the text: they accentuate the consciousness of these processes, which are at times quite clever, at others most superficial and bungling.

**2. The Pūrva-Brāhmaṇa.**—The character of the first part of the GB. is not as easily definable as that of the second. The most conspicuous feature of the first part is that it does not follow at all the order of the Vāit., nor is its object in the main the illustration of the various kinds of *grāuta*-sacrifice. It is, to begin with, also a large borrower, but the source drawn upon is almost exclusively the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (books xi. and xii.). From the beginning of the fourth prapāṭhaka through to i. 5. 22, i. e. all of the fifth prapāṭhaka excepting the last three sections, the text seems to be nothing but a secondary mouthing-over of a considerable part of the twelfth book of ŚB. The subject dealt with by both texts is a mystic, theosophic treatment of the *satra* of the year and other forms of the soma-sacrifice. Though there is some degree of independence on the part of the GB., both in the wording and in an occasional mantra, there can be in this part no question of independent Atharvanic school-tradition; nor can the subject as treated by both texts be referred to a common earlier source. The GB. purloins the materials of the ŚB. quite superficially; occasionally only it infuses into them those special Atharvanic traits which that text affects. The most prominent of these are the praise of the fourth Veda, the mention of Atharvan, Aṅgiras, Bhṛgu, etc.; see, e. g., GB. i. 4. 24; 5. 10, 11, 15, 19. The dependence in general of the Vāit. upon the school of the white YV. ensures a certain correlation of these

materials with the treatment of the *satra* as presented in Vāit. 31-34; but this is no more in the nature of close companionship than is the case in the relation of ÇB. xii. to its Saṁhitā (VS.). Aside from this, as far as has been noted, only the eleventh book of the ÇB. and a section or two of the AB. have been exploited by the author: GB. i. 3. 2: AB. v. 32. 3 ff.;—i. 3. 3: AB. v. 32. 5-33. 4;—i. 3. 4: AB. v. 34. 1 ff.;—i. 3. 6-10: ÇB. xi. 4. 1;—i. 3. 11, 12: ÇB. xi. 5. 3. 1-7;—i. 3. 13, 14: ÇB. xi. 5. 3. 8 ff.;—i. 3. 18: AB. vii. 1. 1.<sup>1</sup>

The last three sections of the fifth prapāṭhaka contain a metrical treatise on the sacrifice, directed largely towards the interests of the Atharvan. The lack of a certain unity of structure in the three sections makes it possible to imagine that they are not from one and the same hand. At any rate they are not far removed from the type of *pariçista*; they do not bear upon the individual acts of the ritual, but seem to be a statement of the position and beliefs of the Atharvans in regard to the general aspects of Vedic lore and sacrifice, with the special purpose of defining and glorifying the AV. This, indeed, is the leading theme of the *pūrva-brāhmaṇa* as a whole; to this it adheres throughout the considerable variety of subjects which are handled in the first three prapāṭhakas, whether they are cosmogonies, speculations in Upaniṣad style, comments on sacrificial details, grammatical disquisitions (i. 1. 24-28), or even statements in the manner of the *carana-vyūha* (i. 1. 29). To carry to the front the AV. and the fourth priest (the so-called Brahman), who must be an Atharvāṅgiroid or Bhr̥gvaṅgiroid, and to point to failure and discomfiture in all holy concerns managed without the fourth Veda, is without question the original motive underlying the production of the Atharvan-Brāhmaṇa. Every tetrad is a veritable godsend to the author. Whether it be the four-footed animal (i. 2. 24); four metres (often); the syllable *om* divided artificially into four moras (i. 1. 16); the cosmic tetrads, earth and fire, atmosphere and wind, heaven and sun, moon and water (i. 1. 29 et al.); or psycho-physical tetrads like speech, breath, sight, and mind (i. 2. 11; 3. 14), they are all pressed into service to show the inherent necessity and primordality of the *catur-veda*, as

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<sup>1</sup> Note also the passage beginning with *tad yathā lavanena* GB. i. 1. 14, which seems borrowed from Chānd. Up. iv. 17. 7, and GB. i. 5. 11 end=Kāuç. 94. 3, 4.

stated most formally i. 1. 16. Occasionally and quite familiarly (i. 2. 21, 24 ; 5. 10 ; cf. also i. 1. 7 and i. 3. 4) the fourfold Veda is expanded into the Atharvanic pentad by dividing the AV. into two, *çānta* = *atharvan*, and *ghora* = *aṅgīras* (see SBE. xlii. pp. xxiii ff.). Very neat manipulations are carried on to this end when passages are borrowed from older texts, as when GB. i. 4. 24 substitutes *catvāro vedāḥ* for *catuspādāḥ paçavaḥ* in ÇB. xii. 2. 2. 20, or when GB. i. 5. 10 assumes the above mentioned Atharvanic five Vedas for three in ÇB. xii. 3. 3. 2. That the GB. clearly associates the AV. and its functionaries with *brāhma* in the sense of universal religion (*sarvavidyā*) and *brahmā* in the sense of universal theologian (*sarvavid*) may be gathered from i. 2. 18 ; 5. 11, 15, 19 : see the systematic exposition of this important theme, SBE. l. c. pp. lii ff.

Though the *pūrva-brāhmaṇa*, in distinction from the *uttara-brāhmaṇa*, leaves the impression of a certain elemental, energetic independence in its composition ; though it does not borrow as much and as bare-facedly as the *uttara* ; though it does not make it its business to follow and illustrate any other Atharvan text ; yet it is without question an exceedingly late production, and also presupposes the *Kāuç.* and *Vāit.*, in addition to the *Çāunakīya-sāmhita* in 20 *kāṇḍas*.<sup>1</sup> Nor are its materials, aside from the obviously borrowed passages, at all from the same hand ; as can be seen by comparing, e. g., the first cosmogony, i. 1. 1-15 with the second, i. 1. 16-30. The section i. 2. 8 mentions the god *Çiva* and belongs rather to the *Purāṇa* than the *Brāhmaṇa*-period. Section i. 1. 28 mentions an evil divinity *Doṣapati* who figured as a *Rishi* at the beginning of the *dvāpara*-age, reminding us of *Dūṣin*, a name of the devil *Māra* in the *Buddha*-legends.<sup>2</sup> Sections i. 1. 25-27 contain grammatical matters of an advanced type, including the *kārikā* mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* 1. p. 96

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GB. i. 1. 4, 5, 8, which allude in a cloudy way to the finished diaskeuasis in 20 books (see *Kāuçika*, Introduction, pp. xxxix and xl). Note the contrast between *çām maṇḍalāḥ* (RV.) and *çām kāṇḍāḥ* (AV.) in i. 2. 9. The fact that in the late *carāṇa-vyūha* passage i. 1. 29 the initial stanza of the AV. is said to be *çām no devīr abhiṣṭaye* does not, in our judgment, militate against the view that the GB. belongs to the school of *Çāunaka*, rather than to the *Pāippalāda*. See *Kāuçika*, Introduction, pp. xxxvii ff. The GB. is, however, not unacquainted with the *Pāippalāda* : see below.

<sup>2</sup> See Windisch, *Buddha und Māra*, p. 151.

(Kielhorn's edition). Section i. 1. 29 is in the nature of a *carana-vyūha*, certainly very late. The proof that the pūrva is posterior to Vāit., just as Vāit. is later than Kāuṣ., can be rendered in definite technical form. In Vāit. 5. 10 two classes of plants, one Atharvanic, the other Aṅgirasic, are mentioned; the latter, unknown to Kāuṣ., is catalogued in full; the former, having been stated Kāuṣ. 8. 16, is merely alluded to with the words *cityā-dibhir ātharvanībhiḥ*.<sup>1</sup> The GB., in its turn, having both Kāuṣ. and Vāit. behind it,<sup>2</sup> is content to allude to both classes with the vague words *ātharvanībhiḥ cāṅgirasibhiḥ ca* (i. 2. 18): they would be entirely unintelligible but for their reference to the preceding texts. Again, as in the case of the utara, the pūrva at times treats the Vāit. as its Samhitā, as far as the mantras are concerned. Thus GB. i. 1. 12 quotes the pāda, *agnir yajñam trivṛtaṁ sapta-tantum* from the Pāipp. hymn given in full Vāit. 10. 17; and GB. i. 2. 18 (end) quotes by pratīka the five stanzas given in full Vāit. 6. 1. Finally, aside from the general correspondence of subject-matter and terminology, as when, e. g., GB. i. 3. 11, 12 shares with Vāit. important words unknown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> the GB. occasionally presents Brāhmaṇa-matter which reads like a late note on Vāit. Thus, e. g., GB. i. 3. 17, describing the variety of *agnīṣṭoma* called *ekagu*, is hardly more than an after-thought to Vāit. 24. 20; GB. i. 2. 18 (second half) contains an Atharvanic legend clearly built upon Vāit. 5. 10, and, more remotely, upon Kāuṣ. 8 and 9.

Yet the pūrva-brāhmaṇa, though very late, is not devoid of a certain originality. The two cosmogonies, respectively i. 1. 1-15 and i. 1. 16-30; the *gāyatrī*-theology i. 1. 31-38; the sections on the duties of the Brahmacārin, with its rubrication of AV. xi. 5, in i. 2. 1-9; the Brāhmaṇa of the 'fire-footed horse' at the *agnyādhāna* in i. 2. 18-21 (with quite a number of original words at the end of i. 2. 21); the trivial Brāhmaṇa on the *svāhā* in i. 3. 16, and other sections seem to represent a form of scholastic activity unknown elsewhere in this precise form. The list of

<sup>1</sup> See the author, JAOS. xi. p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> The passage, *eṣa ha vāi vidvān sarvavid brahmā yad bhṛgvāṅgiroid*, etc., GB. i. 5. 11 (end), seems to be copied from Kāuṣ. 94. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also GB. i. 3. 19 with Vāit. 11. 17 ff.; GB. i. 3. 21 with Vāit. 11. 20-26; GB. i. 3. 22 with Vāit. 12. 1; GB. i. 3. 23 with Vāit. 12. 14; GB. 1. 5. 8 with Vāit. 34. 21. For orthographic peculiarities shared alike by Vāit. and GB. see Garbe, Introduction to the text-edition of Vāit, p. vi. note.

Vedic subsidiary writings in i. 2. 10, though again late in character, does not occur elsewhere in this arrangement and extent.<sup>1</sup> A somewhat independent statement of the *yujñakrama* is presented in i. 5. 7. No Vedic text is entirely devoid of independent mantras and formulas, or fails to introduce independent variants into such as are paralleled by other texts. In this regard the pūrva-brāhmaṇa does not differ essentially from the older Brāhmaṇas: i. 1. 9 contains a mantra of Upaniṣad character (*ṣreṣṭho ha vedas*, etc.), repeated with variants by Sāyaṇa in his Introduction to the AV., p. 5, but unknown elsewhere in the literature; in i. 1. 39 the mantra, *ūpo garbhaṃ janayantiḥ*, seems to be a somewhat independent (Pāippalāda?) version of AV. iv. 2. 8; in i. 2. 7 an expiatory mantra, recited by Brahmācārins in case they happen to step upon a burial-spot, is added to certain other formulas of a similar nature, shared by Vāit. (12. 8, 9) and GB.; at the end of the same section (i. 2. 7) AV. xi. 5. 23 is presented in *sakalapāṭha* with its second hemistich differing markedly from the vulgata form: this, in fact, is the version of the Pāippalāda at the end of the 18th book (see Roth, Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir, p. 23). Similarly the mantra, *catvāri ṣṛṅgās trayo*, etc., in i. 2. 16 is quoted from the Pāipp., the blunder *ṣṛṅgās* for *ṣṛṅgā*, RV. iv. 58. 3, et al., included; see Roth, *ibid.* In i. 2. 9 the mantra, *antarikṣe pathibhir*, etc., shows marked variants as compared with its parallel, RV. x. 168. 3; the formulas in i. 3. 13 do not occur in Vāit., and differ from those in the corresponding passage ÇB. xi. 5. 3. 8 ff.; the two stanzas at the end of i. 5. 5 also present variants as compared with ÇB. xii. 3. 2. 6, 7, occurring nowhere else; above all, the typical mantras at the three daily soma-offerings (*cyeno*, *si*, etc.) in i. 5. 12 differ not only from those of the corresponding passage, ÇB. xii. 3. 4. 3-5, but also from those of the Çāunakīya-saṁhitā (AV. vi. 48), and, as far as is known, from all other versions of these formulas.<sup>2</sup> And throughout the text, aside from the three metrical chapters i. 5. 23-25, there are glokas and other metrical passages so clearly Atharvanic in character that they may not be expected to turn up in older texts (see, e. g., i. 1. 32. end): their *pariṣiṣṭa*-character and their independence are equally obvious.

<sup>1</sup> List of subsidiary Vedic literary types are mentioned also in i. 1. 10, 21, 23, 24, 27 and in i. 3. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer, JAOS. xvi. pp. 1 ff.

*The Meaning and Etymology of the Vedic Word vidátha.*<sup>1</sup>—By  
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THE interpretation of words that are restricted in their occurrence to the poetic parts of the Veda is often a delicate task, even where the word is a very common one, as is the case with the subject of the present paper. The hieratic mysticism of the diction, that swollen utterance—a less severe expression seems inadequate—tends to inflate many words with esoteric shades of meaning which becloud their original value; in sober surroundings the same word would presumably betray its meaning almost of itself. The scene of the Vedic Rishis' imaginings is both earth and heaven, the persons both men and gods; frequently an inextricable blend of the two pairs, divine men upon earth and very earthy gods in heaven, obfuscate the situation still further. In the first interpretation of the Veda the inflation and vagueness of the original were reinforced by the very natural tendency to dress out the Veda in evenly consistent poetic clothes, even where the original stooped to state the plainest matters in the commonest language. I may refer by way of illustration to my remark on *jāgrvānsaḥ* in JAOS. xvi. p. 36, note, which means simply 'having waked up' (in the morning): the Pet. Lex. renders it, 'munter, eifrig, unermüdlich'; Grassmann, 'die wachsam sind'; Ludwig, 'die wachen' (in the sense of 'wide-awake, keen'). Such subtle shifts are common, and they betray the picture conveyed by the Veda to the mental retina of the early translators, as a kind of mediæval romantic poetry, in which naively pious sentiments and performances alternate with valorous deeds. This is what renders Grassmann's translation, the most complete and

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<sup>1</sup> Since this was written Vedic interpretation has been enriched by Professor Oldenberg's scholarly '*Vedic Hymns*,' SBE. xlv. On pp. 26 ff. he analyses the word as *vi-dátha* for *vi-dhátha* from the root *dhā*, assuming the meanings 'distribution, disposition, ordinance,' and then 'sacrificial ordinance, sacrifice.' Aside from the problematic etymology, I have not been able to convince myself that he reaches the root of the matter, especially as regards the homelier aspects of the word which form the starting-point of the present discussion.

consistent expression of this conception of the Veda, in spite of many merits in detail, a medium full of refraction, in which the prismatic tints lend a fictitious beauty that overlays the original, which after all has a beauty of its own, though it is severer, and far from even.

In the case of *vidátha* the older translations have presented as the most prominent rendering the word 'opfersammlung.' One fairly sees the people moving in solemn procession to the sanctified spot where chanting priests with robe and tiara are to invoke the favor of the gods. Unfortunately the Hindus had no 'opfersammlungen'; there was in the main no public cult; the sacrifice is strictly a private affair, a sacrifice in the home of, and in behalf of an individual sacrificer. There is always one *yajamāna*, or bestower of the sacrifice; the sacrifice redounds to his benefit, and that of his family.<sup>1</sup> There were, to be sure, priests, sometimes very many, at the sacrifice, but this does not constitute an assemblage in the ordinary sense of the word, at least not in the sense which naturally goes with the word 'opfersammlung.' This implies, unless defined to the contrary, a rather spontaneous, popular gathering. Now this *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* gave rise to another faulty view of the word: it contains the root 2. *vid*, as we shall endeavor to show, in its ordinary sense of 'get, acquire.' Instead of this, the radical idea underlying the word was generally felt to be 'come together, assemble' (as though it were *sám vid*), and upon this a number of subsidiary meanings of the word were based. And, again, the false start from the notion of 'assemblage' resulted in an approximation of the word to other words for assemblage, especially *sabhá* with which *vidátha* was almost identified. We shall see that there are decided points of contact between the words *vidátha* and *sabhá*, but the contact is that of extreme opposites in a way: *vidátha* refers to home matters; *sabhá* generally, though not always, to public matters.<sup>2</sup>

In the interpretation of a term that figures prominently in the mystic-hieratic sphere of the Veda it is peculiarly necessary to

<sup>1</sup> See Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> The word *sabhá* itself does not by any means always refer to a public place, but occasionally means simply 'house,' or 'parlor.' Thus *rayih sabhāvān*, RV. iv. 2. 5, means 'wealth consisting of houses,' and the *yōṣā sabhāvati vidathyā*, RV. i. 167. 3, certainly does not refer to a woman in the assembly, but means 'a genteel woman of good house and with an establishment.'

search for its uses outside of that sphere, if there be such uses. In RV. x. 85. 26 the bride after the wedding-ceremony proper, as the newly married couple are about to travel to their new home, is addressed with the words: "May Pūṣan taking thee by the hand lead thee home, may the Aṅvins lead thee forth on their car! Go to thy house in order that thou mayst be mistress of the house," and next, *vaçinī tvām vidátham á vadāsi*: "Full of authority shalt thou speak to the *vidátha*."<sup>1</sup> Now *vidátha* here can have but one meaning, 'household,' or something very like it. It certainly cannot refer to anything in the nature of a public gathering similar to the *sabhá*. In AV. vii. 38. 4 a woman who is pronouncing a love-charm takes especial pains to define the position of her sex, and to disclaim any connection with public matters: "My speech, not thine (in this matter of love) hath weight; in the assembly (*sabhāyām*), forsooth, do thou make thy voice heard! To me alone shalt thou belong, shalt not even discourse of other women." And the Māitrāyaṇī-Samhitā iv. 7. 4: 97. 15 defines the same relation of the sexes from the man's point of view with the utmost neatness, *nirindriyā strī, pumān indriyavāns, tasmād pumānsaḥ sabhām yanti na striyaḥ*: "Woman is weak, man is strong; hence men go to the assembly, not women." These passages outline the state of the woman-question for early India with the most satisfying clearness: while in general there are no footprints of the slipper in the sand of time,<sup>2</sup> and both women and men are agreed that the legislative assembly is not the ideal sphere of woman, yet her own essential prerogative of being in charge of love and home is undisputed.

The stanza in the RV. following that commented upon above, RV. x. 85. 27=AV. xiv. 1. 21=Āpast. Mantrabr. i. 9. 4, addresses a similar statement to both parties to the marriage contract: "Unite thyself with this husband, then shall ye, long-lived, order your household" (*ñvri vidátham á vadáthaḥ*). Here the word 'long-lived' is significant: it is obviously a word redolent of family-life, not of public life. And what else but the household might that thing be which man and wife shall address or order? Similarly, AV. xii. 2. 30<sup>d</sup>, folks returning from a funeral

<sup>1</sup> Cf with this perhaps also RV. i. 167. 6.

<sup>2</sup> An occasional Xantippe was not wanting, else there would be no occasion for the Ait. Br. iii. 24. 7=Gop. Br. ii. 3. 22 to say, *aprativādini hā 'sya gṛheṣu patnī bhavati yatrāi 'vaḥ vidvān*, etc.: "His wife does not contradict him in his (own) house who knoweth thus."



pray that having succeeded in checking the advance of death upon themselves, they shall continue to live (long) and order their household (*átha jiváso vidátham á vadema*). This again leads over to the common expressions, *suvitrāso vidátham á vadema* (RV. i. 117. 25, etc.), and *bṛhád vadema vidáthe suvitrāḥ* (RV. ii. 1. 16, etc.). Common as these two verse-lines are, they have been charged with over-much meaning, as when Grassmann renders the latter by, "lasst laut im Chore bei dem Fest uns singen." Ludwig's rendering, "laut mögen wir sprechen mit guten helden in der opferversammlung" is far more sober, but also misses the point, as does also Bergaigne, Quarante Hymnes, p. 6, "puissions-nous, en parlant à voix haute dans l'assemblée, obtenir de bons héros." And Oldenberg (SBE. xvi. pp. 26 ff.) arrives at a similar rendering for these expressions, e. g. in his translation of RV. ii. 1. 16 (p. 188), "may we speak loud in the assembly, rich in valiant men." The word *suvitrāḥ* again refers to family-relations, not to public life, meaning, 'having strong, or lusty, sons': its rendition by 'rich in valiant men' is once more, in our judgment, a romantic or inflated one, suggesting vaguely a feudal picture of life (a lord with his vassals) foreign to the situation.

The two verse-lines mean, "let us have strong sons and control our household." Similarly this scene from ordinary life is reflected in the prayer for life after death, AV. xviii. 3. 70: "Render up again, O tree (funeral-pyre), him that hath been deposited upon thee, that he may dwell in the seat of Yama, *vidáthā vādan* speaking (authoritatively) to his household."

Thus far, it may not be doubted, the word appears in the language of ordinary life. But it is found to a very much greater extent in the sacerdotal sphere; indeed, as all interpreters from Yāska on have agreed, it often has a meaning very close to *yajñá*, 'sacrifice,' itself. This is as it should be. Inasmuch as the sacrifice is a private, home-affair, it is very natural that *vidátha*, the home, the premises, the establishment, should

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<sup>1</sup> The reader needs hardly to be reminded in this connection of the disturbances to which the early Hindu household seems to have been chronically subjected owing to the quarrels and disagreements of its members. A distinct class of charms, the so-called *sāhmanasyānti*, 'charms to secure harmony,' deal largely with this theme; see SBE. xlii. pp. 134 ff.; cf. also the story of Cyavana (see *ibid.* pp. 362), in which these conditions are depicted as a curse.

figure prominently in connection with the sacrifice. But the word has a distinct local color. Just as in the view of people of fashion a house is the scene of social amenities (cf. especially the German expressions 'ein haus machen,' 'ein grosses haus machen'), so the *vidátha* in which lived the generous patron of the sacrifice (*sūrí*) is the scene of the sacrifice. This is especially clear in such passages as exhibit the word *yajñá* by the side of *vidátha*, e. g. RV. vii. 84. 3, *kr̥tām no yajñām vidátheṣu cārum, kr̥tām bráhmāni sūriṣu praçastā*, "render ye (Indra and Varuṇa) our sacrifice pleasing in the establishments; prepare ye songs appreciated by the patrons (of the sacrifice)." Or RV. x. 100. 6, *yajñāç ca bhūd vidáthe cārun ántamaḥ*; x. 110. 7, *yajñām . . . pracodáyantā vidátheṣu kārú (dāivyū hótārā)*; iii. 26. 6, *gántāro yajñām vidátheṣu dhīrāḥ* (the Maruts); iii. 4. 5, (*dvdrah*) *nṛpéçaso vidátheṣu prá jātā abhī 'mām yajñām ví caranta pūrvīḥ*; viii. 11. 1. 2, *tvām (agne) yajñésv ídyaḥ, tvām asi praçásyo vidátheṣu*. In most of these cases the locative sing. or plur. of *vidátha* occurs with *yajñá* in a case other than the locative, rendering it clear that the sacrifice took place in the *vidátha*, and the assumed primary meaning, 'establishment,' with the understanding that it is the establishment in which sacrifices were offered, in which the sacrifice was at home, as it were, suits the connection most naturally.<sup>1</sup> And thus the great mass of the occurrences of the word. We may pick out, e. g., the passages in which Agni is spoken of in connection with the *vidátha*, and the same sense 'establishment (in which sacrifices are performed)' appears. Thus: RV. iii. 1. 1, *agne váhniṃ cakartha vidáthe yájadhyāi*; i. 60. 1, *váhniṃ . . . vidathásya ketúm*; x. 92. 2, *agním vidáthasya sādhanam*; x. 91. 8, *vidáthasya prasáddhanam agním*; iii. 3. 3, *ketúm yajñānām vidathásya sādhanam*; i. 143. 7, *vidátheṣu dīdyat*; iv. 6. 2, *agnír mandró vidátheṣu práçetāḥ*; iii. 14. 1, *á hótā mandró vidáthāny asthāt*; x. 122. 8, *gr̥ṇānto agne vidátheṣu vedhásah*; x. 91. 9, *tvām . . . vṛṇate . . . hótāram agne vidátheṣu*; x. 11. 3, *agním hótāram vidáthāya jījanan*; iii. 8. 5, *jūtó jāyate . . . vidáthe várdhamānaḥ*; iii. 28. 4, *agne . . . táva bhāgadhéyaṃ ná prá ninanti vidátheṣu dhīrāḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Decidedly, it should be noted that the word *vidátha* does not occur in the nominative at all, but overwhelmingly in the locative sing. and plur., whereas *yajñá* is very common in the nominative. The local color of *vidátha* can be realized superficially by comparing the two words in Grassmann's Concordance.

A little differently, yet clearly enough, Agni in RV. iii. 1. 18 is said to have sat in the dwellings of the mortals, *vidáthāni sādhan*; or, in iii. 27. 7, Agni, the immortal god, leads the van, *vidáthāni pracodāyan*. Here it is difficult to determine whether *vidáthāni* still means, primarily, '(sacrificial) establishments,' or, secondarily, '(sacrifices in the) establishments.' Just as the Royal House of Stuart, or the House of Stuart means in reality the kings in Stuart's House, so *vidátha* unquestionably advances from the meaning '(sacrificial) establishment,' until it reaches the meaning 'sacrifice.' This meaning may preferably be assumed for some of the passages relating to Agni, above; it certainly seems likely in the expression *ṛtīye vidáthe*, RV. ii. 4. 8: *pūrvasyá vaso ádhūtāu ṛtīye vidáthe mánma sañsi*, "in remembrance of thy former blessings this prayer has been recited to thee at the third sacrifice." Here *ṛtīye vidáthe* seems pretty clearly = *ṛtīye sávane*<sup>1</sup> 'the third, or evening pressure of the soma.' The same three pressures of the soma seem to explain the word in RV. v. 3. 6, *vayám agne vanuyāma . . . vidáthesv áhnām . . . mártān*, 'may we, O Agni, overcome the mortals at the (three) sacrifices of the day'; cf. the expressions *prapitvé áhnām*, and *abhípitvé áhnām*, RV. i. 126. 3; iv. 16. 12; 34. 5, which point out the particular pressures in the morning and the evening stated collectively in *vidáthesv áhnām*; cf. JAOS. xvi. p. 38.

Indeed it is scarcely possible to mark off from one another the two meanings just developed. Take, e. g., the pāda, *sá no mṛḍa vidáthe grñāná*, addressed to lightning, AV. 1. 13. 4: it may mean "spare us, thou that art praised in our household"; or, "spare us thou that art praised at the sacrifice"; or, RV. vii. 57. 2, *asmākam adyá vidáthesu barhír á vitáye sadata*, "sit down now (O Maruts), upon the barhis to refresh yourselves at our sacrifices," or, 'in our (sacrificial) premises.'

It would be useless, as it is unimportant, to attempt to catch or trace in such connection the more primary shading of the word, as this seems to me to be guaranteed by the passages discussed in the opening of this paper. Nor would it be worth while to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also English 'court' in the two senses, regal and judicial; German 'hof,' etc., etc.

<sup>2</sup> So Oldenberg, SBE. xlv. p. 205, and previously my own marginal note.

present here in writing the entire mass of passages in the Veda containing this word, in most of which the preceding meanings will be found satisfactory, in some of which the obscurity is due to the subject matter in general. But a few words on the derivative *vidathyà* will perhaps serve to further clarify the atmosphere.

By way of preliminary we again note that the word *sabhā* does not by any means always refer to a public place, but occasionally simply means 'house,' or 'parlor.' Thus *rayīḥ sabhāvān*, RV. iv. 2. 5, can hardly mean anything else than 'wealth consisting of houses'; therefore, if not for other reason, *vidathyām . . . rayīm*, RV. vi. 8. 5, means 'wealth in the establishment,' i. e. 'established wealth.' Nor does *yóṣā sabhāvati vidathyā*, (RV. 1. 167. 3 (cf. also st. 6) refer to a woman in the assembly but means 'a woman of good house and with an establishment.' In this light we may regard anew a passage like AV. xx. 128. 1 = ÇÇ. xii. 20. 2, *yáḥ sabhéyo vidathyāḥ sítvā yájvā ca píruṣāḥ*: what else may this soma-pressing, sacrificing man be but 'a man of good house and establishment'? In RV. 1. 91. 20 Soma bestows upon a pious man, in addition to cows and horses, a son (*vīrá*) that is *karmanyā*, *sādanyā*, *vidathyā*, *sabhéya*, and *pitṛ-ṣṛávana*, i. e. the son is diligent or pious (*karmanyā*); devoted to home (*sādanyā*); obedient (*pitṛ-ṣṛávana*); it seems altogether likely that *vidathyā* and *sabhéya* refer to home conditions rather than to public matters: the words seem here to have an ethical tinge, 'genteel,' 'of a good house,' or the like. There seem to be no passages, not even *vidathyāḥ samrāt* ('a ruler rich in establishments'), RV. iv. 27. 2, in which the word needs to be correlated with any kind of public assemblage.

*The Puñjáb and the Rig-Veda.*—By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

No greater disappointment awaits the Vedic student in India than a visit to the Puñjáb. Can this shallow stream, he asks, be the formidable barrier which he used to associate with the name Sutlej? And from the Sutlej to the Ravi, what a view of unbounded flatness! But the Ravi itself, little more than a brook, across which walk oxen and their masters, wet scarcely to the knee—is this one of the great Five? The student goes still further west, and what does he see? A veritable desert, green only by the river's bank; a level land, from which no mountains are visible; providing water for few only where frequent wells are dug, and made inhabitable for many only by means of the great canals with which modern enterprise has furnished it. At the Chenaub the anxious student finds a rougher country, but only in the river-gorge; and not till he reaches the very north-western corner of the Puñjáb does he see mountains, at a distance. So he goes on till he arrives at the Indus—the mighty Indus—and sadly wades across it! If the traveller journeys south he finds the land still more arid, till it passes imperceptibly into the southern desert, where indeed the country is no flatter nor more devoid of trees, but the aridity is not broken by the narrow streaks which, as rivers, cut up the desert of the north.

Remembering that the Vedic bards were acquainted with the five (or seven) rivers, and have handed down some quasi-historical matter in regard to the crossing of them, the student in surprise asks himself where these hymns were composed. Some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda take cognizance of streams west of the Indus, but these seem to belong more to a special clan, perhaps to those that had not crossed the Puñjáb with the rest but lingered behind, as their hymns would indicate; hymns which show on the whole a late character and appear to have been added to the Collection after the latter was for the most part finished. In a very few hymns, moreover, there are direct invocations of the Sindhu, but the mention of other rivers (of the Puñjáb) shows at least that the hymnists were not confined to the

district about the Indus. Where then was the chief Collection made? It reflects not so much a wandering life in a desert as a life stable and fixed, a life of halls and cities, and shows sacrificial cases in such detail as to lead one to suppose that the hymnists were not on the tramp but were comfortable, well-fed priests.

Still more is the traveller impressed with the incompatibility of Vedic poetry and the land of the Five Rivers. Could the hymns have been composed in such a land, could they have grown up in such an environment? If the first home of the Aryans in India can be determined at all by the conditions, topographical and meteorological, described in their early hymns, then decidedly the Puñjáb was not that home. For here there are neither mountains to be seen nor monsoon storms to burst, yet storm and mountain belong to the very marrow of the Rig-Veda.

Thinking thus, the student retraces his steps across the desert, and seeks a district where conditions favorable to the creation of the Vedic hymns are to be found, where the Vedic Aryans may be supposed to have had their first permanent abode, wanderers through the desert no longer. I believe he will not discover this early home of the Aryans of the Rig-Veda till he passes east of the old 'limit of India,' Sirhind, and comes to a district, the first on his way, where monsoon storms and mountain scenery are found, that district, namely, which lies south of Umballa (or Ambālā). It is here, in my opinion, that the Rig-Veda, taken as a whole, was composed. In every particular this locality fulfils the physical conditions under which the composition of the hymns was possible, and, what is of paramount importance, it is the first district east of the Indus that does so.

I venture to think that this interpretation of the physical aspects of the country is supported even by native traditions. At a very early (Brahmanic) period the 'Northerners' are regarded as a suspicious sort of people, whose religious practices, far from being authoritative, are censured. No tradition associates the ancient literature with the Puñjáb. In fact, save for one exception, even the legal manuals do not take cognizance of the Northwest. They have the stanza that defines Āryāvarta, and also the stanzas that extend the geographical boundary still further south; but they ignore the North. Manu, however, has one verse that in connection with this subject is of interest, and deserves to be translated, though till now it never has been ren-

dered into English. I refer to ii. 17, and translate in paraphrase : "The country divinely meted out by the rivers Sarasouti and Ghuggar, and lying between them, is where the (Rig, etc.) Veda arose, and hence is called *brahmāvarta* or 'home of the Veda' in the tradition of the learned."

That *brahma* here means Veda is half recognized by the native scholiasts ; but, as I shall show presently, it is still more important to notice that such meaning agrees with the general use of the word in Manu and particularly with the use in this second book. The point can be shown clearly by grouping the examples. The word *brahma* in Manu has, it is true, other meanings than Veda. But these are I think plainly ruled out here by the context. It will be necessary, therefore, to show first by a brief analysis what the context implies.

The second book of Manu is concerned with the correct *dharma* and conduct of the twice-born. 'Tell us the *dharma* practiced by the good' is the substance of its opening stanza. Authority is then said to be invested in the Veda, the traditions of the wise, and practices of the good ; while all *dharma* is founded on the Veda (6-7). The Veda is thus established as the fountain-head of law, religious practice, and conduct. A few more stanzas emphasize this point still further, and then comes the stanza preceding the one under discussion. In this the author reverts to the Veda in particular, and now employs the word *mantra*, saying that only he who always employs *mantra*, Vedic verses, is an authority ; and, after thus specifying where one is to look for precept and on what practice and precept are based, proceeds to give the countries where authority is to be found, beginning, as is observed by one of the Commentators, with the most authoritative. We are thus led to expect that the Veda will be mentioned first ; and such, in my opinion, is the case. The following verses then show what are the less authoritative, but still authoritative countries. In abstract this appears thus : (The district between the Sarasvatī and Dhṛṣadvatī is the home of the Veda) ; the religious practices found in this country are those of the good. Next to this lies the country south of it (from Thanesar to Mathurā),<sup>1</sup> which is the district of the seers of the Veda (*brah-*

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<sup>1</sup> The termination *-āla* of so many of the towns in this part of the country would point to a word of this form with the meaning of village or settlement. So far as I have observed such endings uniformly indicate small places and, in general, places situated in anciently habi-

*marśideṣa*), and from Brahmans of this district are to be learned the practices of men to-day. Taking a wider sweep, all the country from west to east between the place where the Sarasouti disappears in the desert and that where the Jumna disappears in the Ganges, and from north to south between the Himālayas and the Vindhya hills is the 'Middle Land.' The 'home of the Āryans' (*āryāvarta*), as it is called, is the country between these mountains and the two seas.

The Puñjāb is thus omitted altogether from the list. The most western locality is the place where the Sarasouti disappears in the north-west, and the Arabian Sea, west of the southern line of the Vindhya.<sup>1</sup>

That, as Nandana observes at this point (*śloka* 22), each country is given in the order of its authority, the best being first, is clear not only from the last verse, but from the one that follows it. For here it is stated that the 'district fit for sacrifice' is all the country forming the natural habitat of the black buck, and this differs from the 'country of barbarians' in that the latter is not a place fit for the twice-born to live in. 'Natural habitat' is not to be taken with the Commentators as making a

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tated parts of the country. Near Kurukṣetra there are Ambālā, Karnāla (with the southern Kurnool), and Patiālā on the Ghuggar or Dṛśadvatī, besides Pañcāla. In the Northwest are found Manikyāla, Dewāla, Kohāla, Margāla, partly in Gandhāra, partly in Cashmere. Near the old Karli caves we find Khandāla and Nerāla; in Kathiawar, Verawāla and Gondāla. But in the South I have noticed only (all three near together) in the vicinity of ancient Bijapur, Mincanāla, Nimbāla, and Jumnāla; and in one of the oldest coast-stations, near Cochin, Narakāla.

I may add that Manu's determination of the habitat of the black buck probably shows that the author did not know the Deccan very well. The black buck are common about Hyderabad, at Sarur Nagar, and I have seen them, mixed with antelope, in the great plains about Gadaga south of Bijapur, where probably they have always grazed. A few are found in Kathiawar. But the Deccan is excluded by Manu from lands habitable for the twice-born.

<sup>1</sup> The Ābhīra, mentioned in Manu as a mixed-caste, designates a shepherd race of Sind, Kuch, and Kathiawar. The other mixed-castes show acquaintance only with the South and East; rather a superficial acquaintance, as the Māghada, for instance, is recognized only as a *mercator* or travelling trader, while the Vāideha is a 'servant of women,' M. x. 6 ff. The northern Daradas are known only as Gentiles or barbarians.



distinction between country and town, but between the plains and the hills. The Gangetic plain and the country about Kurukṣetra, between Delhi and Umballa and south of the former locality, is still the 'natural habitat' of the black buck. This account in Manu concludes with the words : " thus have I briefly expounded to you the home (*yoni*) of *dharmā*, and its origin (*sambhava*)."

In regard to the word *brahmāvarta*, the second member is found in the similar word *āryāvarta* (*pl.* 22),<sup>1</sup> and that it signifies home or place of origin is recognized by the Commentators. Thus Kull. says, as does Medh., *āryā ātrā 'vartante punaḥ punar udbhavanti*. Again in vii. 82, *āvṛttās* are 'they that come' (arrive, arise) from good families (*abl.*); and in iv. 172, Rāmacandra correctly gives *pravartamāna* as the equivalent of *āvartamāna*. On this score then we are safe in rendering the latter half of the word as 'home,' in the sense of origin, or birth-place.<sup>2</sup>

The word *brahma* has four, and perhaps five, meanings in Manu. In the stereotyped *brahma kṣatra* it is equivalent to *brāhmaṇa*-caste, as in v. 23 and ix. 320 ff.; or to a member of that caste, as in *brahmahā*, *brahmaghna*, *brahmarākṣasa* (xi. 54; xii. 55; viii. 89; xii. 60; and once in the second book, ii. 80). It may, again, stand for the Absolute or for *brahmatva*. In i. 98; xii. 102, *brahmabhūyāya kalpate*, either meaning is possible, or even that of Brahṁā.<sup>3</sup> In xii. 123, *brahma cācvaṭam*, *brahma* is the equivalent of *brahma param*, which is found as a complete phrase, in vi. 85; ii. 82, 83.<sup>4</sup> So in vi. 79, *brahma sanātanam* (compare 81). This meaning either appears in the purely philosophical parts of the work or is obtained by an epithet limiting and defining *brahma*, as in *param brahma* at ii. 81. I do not suppose, however, that anyone will claim that in *brahmāvarta* the first word means either Brahman or the Absolute.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word occurs again at x. 84.

<sup>2</sup> In the Mahābhārata, *Brahmāvarta* is called *Brahmakṣetra*, *kṣetra* being a common equivalent of *yoni*, the place of origin. Compare the mythical abode of the 'Northern Kurus,' called *Devakṣetra* (perhaps the modern *Dewāla* in *Cashmere*?).

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the whole, given by *Comm.* at i. 98 as *mokṣa*, centers in the *bhūya*; *mokṣa* is the being of Brahṁā (or the Absolute).

<sup>4</sup> *Sarvajñanārāyaṇa* even says that *brahma param* is *paramo vedas*. But 'going to *brahma param*' ii. 82, must mean 'going into the Absolute.' Compare vi. 81, *brahmany evā 'vatiṣṭhate*.

<sup>5</sup> In i. 11 (after 9, Brahṁā) *brahmeti kīrtiyate* must imply Brahṁā.

The three other possible meanings of the word are Brahmā (in composition), Veda, and purity or holiness. The last of these is a meaning sometimes given to *brahma* in *brahmacārin*, but this word means nothing more than practicing Vedic study,<sup>1</sup> and is the exact counterpart of *brahmavādin*, 'declaring the Veda.' The only places where *brahma* goes so far from its original meaning as to be capable of the translation 'purity' are v. 93 and 158-160. In the first of these, *brahmabhūta* (v. l. *pūta*) is regarded by all Commentators as the equivalent of 'pure.' But this is only the logical meaning. Here as elsewhere *brahma* may be and should be rendered (as in *brahmabhūya* above) by 'the being of Brahmā.' The second case, too, is fallacious: *strī brahmacārye vyavasthitā* is indeed 'a pure woman'; but the sense is so far from the original meaning, and the application is so figurative, that it is filled out in the text itself by *yathā te brahmacāriṇas*, i. e. 'a woman living like a student of the Veda' is still the meaning. The meaning 'pure' comes from the chastity attributed to the student, to whom the woman is compared.

This meaning, therefore, ruled out by the context in any circumstances, cannot here be applied. I mention it only because the more general word 'holiness' might be supposed to be applicable, and these examples be considered as illustrations of that meaning. But in *Manu brahma* never means holiness.

We are, then, reduced to the meanings Brahmā and Veda. In ii. 84, *brahma* is thus used for Brahmā, but it is scarcely probable that *brahmāvarta* is an earthly equivalent of *brahmaloka* (iv. 182, 260; vi. 32). The *brahmaṇas sabhā* of viii. 11 depends on the four-foldness of the *sabhā* for its likeness. Other cases are *brahmatejas*, vii. 14;<sup>2</sup> and *brahmapūjitā vāk*, viii. 81; perhaps also *brahmāñjali*, ii. 71 (see below). The strongest argument against the interpretation of *brahmāvarta* as 'home of Brahmā' is, however, that the country thus described is *devanirmīta*,

<sup>1</sup> Compare the use of the word in ii. 115, with the preceding context.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *brāhmīyaṁ kriyate tanus*, ii. 28. Medh. here, however, records one interpretation in accordance with which the implied noun is *brahma=veda*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *brāhmaṇ tejas*, iv. 186, as Vedic, apparently, which makes the case above doubtful. The adjective *brāhma* sometimes means Vedic, as in vii. 2, of *samskāra*; but generally it is equivalent to "of Brahmā" (*tīrtha*, ii. 58 (?); *brāhmo muhūrtas*, iv. 92, like Vas. xii. 47). It may, however, refer to the Brahmans, as in *nidhis*, vii. 82 (compare 83). In iii. 74, *brāhmyaṁ hutam* means 'of Brahmans.'

'divinely meted out,' and the divinity here, from the context, can be only the divine rivers, as is said by the Commentators. It would not be probable that the country was said to be 'meted out (or made) by the divine rivers and therefore called the home of Brahṃā,' which is the substance of the stanza, if *brahma* here is Brahṃā.

Now I propose to show that in all other cases in Manu *brahma* has the meaning simply of Veda (as Vedic texts), and not of holiness or of any vague concept.

The meaning Veda comes out most clearly in *brahmada* = *vedada*,<sup>1</sup> iv. 232-3, in *brahma dhana*, Veda as wealth, ix. 316; and in *vedasattra*, Vedic session, iv. 9 (compare 11 and Comm.). So in xi. 192 and 265; in the latter case even *vedasāra* may be the true meaning. Again *brahmavādin* (ii. 113; iv. 91, 199; vi. 39; xi. 42, 120; cf. 56, 97) must mean "he that declares the Veda," as is correctly stated by the Commentators, who are right also in giving the same sense to *brahmavarcas*=*vedabala* (ii. 37; iv. 218).<sup>2</sup> Most clearly does this, the regular meaning of *brahma* in Manu, appear in such expressions as that in iv. 110: *tryahaṃ na kīrtayed brahma* (= *anudhyāyaḥ syāt*, Rāmacandra).<sup>3</sup> So ib. 111 and 114, *brahma* is Veda; as in ib. 149, *brahmābhyāsa*;<sup>4</sup> ib. 99, *brahmādhitīya*; ib. 100, *brahma cchandaskṛtaṃ (paṭhet)*; or in iii. 41, where *brahmadharmā* is *vedadharmā* (all Comm.). In like manner the Commentators all agree that *brahmaṇo grahaṇa* in ii. 173 is 'attainment of Veda.' Hence the threefold Veda is called simply *trayam brahma* in i. 23; and *brahmaṇo dhāraṇāt* in the same book, i. 93, as is agreed by all Commentators, means *vedādharmaṇāt*; while, ib. 97, *brahmavedin* (v. l., probably correct, °*vādin*) is defined as *brahmatattvajña*.

The difficult passage *brāhmaṇā brahmayonisthās*, x. 74, may mean 'Brahmans by birth on the mother's and father's side' as Nar. extraordinarily renders it; but the other Commentators are probably right in explaining *brahma* as (study of) the Veda. So Govindarāja says that *brahma* is here Veda, and Medh. says the same, though the latter erroneously defines *yoni* as *kāraṇa*; for *yoni* means home, as it does in ii. 25, cited above (*dharmasya*

<sup>1</sup> Compare iii. 3: *brahmadāya* (=Veda).

<sup>2</sup> In iii. 39, *brahmavarcasinas* is rendered by Rāgh. *vedādhyayanaja-viryayuktās*. At ii. 118, Medh. gives *vedādhyāyin* for *brahmavādin*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare ii. 172: *nābhivyāhārayed brahma* (=Veda, Medh., etc.).

<sup>4</sup> Compare ii. 166, *vedābhyāsa*.

*yoniḥ sambhavaç ca*), and not *kāraṇa* or *sādhana*. But in this case the verse appears to mean that only those Brahmans may live by a Brahman's six acts who abide by the Veda ('stand in the abode of the Veda'), the abode here being the Veda itself.<sup>1</sup>

I have given above several scattered instances from the second book, in which occurs the verse here in question, where *brahma* means Veda. This is here the prevailing meaning, as it is elsewhere. Thus ii. 71, *brahmārambhe* is 'at the beginning of the Veda' (lesson);<sup>2</sup> in ii. 74, *brahmaṇaḥ (pranavaṁ kuryād) ādāv ante ca*, the same sense is found (all Comm.); in ii. 81 (Sāvitrī, etc.), *brahmano mukham*, most of the Commentators say that *brahma* is Veda (Medh., Kull., Nār., Nand.), though Rāmacandra and Rāghavānanda take it as *paramātmā*, which Medh. and Kull. allow as an alternative. Govindarāja gives only Veda as the meaning. The various interpretations show the tendency to put a more philosophical sense into the text. In ii. 106, *brahmasattra* and *brahmāhuti* (Nand., *vedavyāhutiḥ itī yāvāt*), the Commentators also give *brahma* as Veda. In ii. 116, Rāghavānanda rightly gives *brahma* as Veda. In ii. 146 (*brahmada*, *brahma-dātā*, and *brahmanma*), all agree as to the meaning of *brahma* = Veda (*brahmada* being *ūcārya*). Here *brahmada* is the equivalent of *mantrada* in ii. 153. So *brahmanma* is paraphrased by *brāhma janma* in ii. 150 (Nār. as Veda).<sup>3</sup> These *çlokas* all contain rules for the student of the Veda, *brahmacārīn*, and the same word *brahma* in the sense of Veda occurs again in the final verse of this section, 164: *anena kramayogena saṁskṛtātmā dvijaḥ çanāiḥ Gurāu vasaṁ sañcinuyād brahmādhigamikaṁ tapaḥ*. Compare with this, in the next *çloka*, *vedaḥ kṛtsno 'dhiganta-vyaḥ*. Nārāyaṇa paraphrases the first expression with *vedādhi-gamanarūpaṁ tapaḥ*. I add to these one more instance, ii. 116: *brahma yas tv ananujūtam adhyānād avāpnuyāt Sa brahma-steyasaṁyukto narakam pratipadyate (vedaṁ gṛhṇāti* is Kull.'s rendering).

As these are all the cases of *brahma* in Manu; as general holiness is not found to be one of the meanings employed; as the meanings Brahman, Brahman caste, Brahmā, the Absolute, are

<sup>1</sup> In vi. 83, *adhiyajñam brahma* is also clearly Veda.

<sup>2</sup> In the preceding verse, *brahmāñjali* may have the same meaning or *brahma* may be 'Brahmā's'; but the former certainly seems to be the sense in this connection.

<sup>3</sup> Compare also ii. 169-170, where 'brahmic birth' is 'Vedic. With *brahmada* compare ii. 171, *vedapradānāt*.

not admissible ; there would seem to be no reason why we should not render *brahmāvarta* in ii. 17 as 'home of the Veda.' The Commentators are fairly unanimous in their treatment of this *śloka*. Rāmacandra, indeed, goes out of his way to say that the two rivers are the Ganges and Jumna, evidently having in mind a verse of the *dharmasūtras* which give these rivers as boundaries of another district. On *brahmāvarta* Sarvajñānārāyaṇa says : *brahmāvartate 'nuvartate yatra sa brahmāvartaḥ*, and Nandana : *brahma dharmāḥ āvṛttam āgatam maharṣiṇām atra pratibhātam iti brahmāvartaḥ*. Govindarāja merely says, *brahmāvartākhyam (deśam)*. Medhātithi and Kullūka are not so explicit, but they too seem to take *brahma* in the sense of *dharma* as contained in the Veda. This, however, is never the meaning of *brahma* in Manu, who distinguishes *brahma* from *dharma* (the former being the base of the latter), and uses *brahma*, as above, only in the sense of Veda, or of Brahman, Brahmā, or the Absolute.

I believe, therefore, that in this verse is found an echo of ancient tradition which rightly ascribed the composition of Mantric literature to the only place which we to-day can regard as the first permanent abode of the Aryans in India, viz. the district about the modern town of Umballa, south toward Thanesar (Kurukṣetra), between the Sarasouti and Ghuggar rivers. In this district noble mountains are visible, which recede from sight as one approaches Thanesar. Here the monsoon still breaks in violence. Here are softly sloping hills and verdant pasturage. To the west, in the Puñjāb proper, no mountains are visible except in the extreme northwestern corner (about Rawal Pindi), and here there is no monsoon storm. There are, in the Puñjāb proper, no electrical phenomenon at all in the monsoon season, but only gentle noiseless showers ; no verdure and no hills, but a waste of desert that only stops at the river's edge ; no sloping pasturage, but a flat plain broken by a steep bank where the river cuts in. If we assume that the sight of the mountains at Rawal Pindi and further west makes it probable that the Vedic people inhabited this district, the only part of the Puñjāb where mountains are to be seen,<sup>1</sup> then we must ignore the fact that the further west we get from the (modern) Northwestern Provinces the less we see of any real monsoon. In the central Puñjāb there are

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<sup>1</sup> On a very clear day by climbing a high tower distant mountains are said to be visible from Lahore. I climbed the tower in normal weather, a bright winter day, and could see nothing but a plain, level as the top of an oven, on every side.

neither hills visible nor storms. Further we must remember that the Vedic Aryans had for the most part already crossed the Puñjâb rivers, as their hymns show, and that they must be located in the district about the rivers or to the east of them, where the crossing was a tradition of the past. But as the country about the rivers of the Puñjâb is just where all the conditions fail which the Rig-Veda would seem to demand, there remains only the alternative of finding a locality where those conditions do obtain.

One point more : I have watched the sun rise and set from the end of the rains to the beginning of the hot season, and, locally, from the Himâlayas to far south of the Vindhya. Almost always at sunset there is a sudden red glow followed by a dull copper-yellow, which soon fades, and at sunrise the same quick succession of colors reversed. Only in the Puñjâb have I seen a really beautiful sunrise (or sunset), such as is marked by bright yellow, slowly deepening into rose, and this continuing into a long flush of crimson. Now the Dawn Hymns are generally admitted to be among the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda. I could not help thinking, as I saw the sunrise and sunset of the Puñjâb and compared them with those I had seen at Kurukṣetra and Delhi a few days before, that the difference between them accorded very well with the fact that the bulk of the Rig-Veda was not composed in the sight of such eoian phenomena as are celebrated in the Dawn Hymns. Dawn too, be it remembered, is particularly celebrated as the goddess of wayfarers ; the one that is invoked to give good paths. I may add that the conception of Varuṇa as found in the earlier hymns of the Rik is one more likely to be formed in the midst of a vast plain than in a circumscribed and hilly country. It is perhaps permissible to see in this, taken in connection with the other facts above enumerated, an indication that the Dawn and Varuṇa Hymns belong to the period of transit across the Puñjâb's desert plain, in distinction from the period of the mass of hymns, composed under the influence of Indra, the god whose rains make the smaller rivers swell.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Indus does not rise in June in consequence of the monsoon, but long before the monsoon breaks, and in consequence of the melting of snow in the northern mountains. The same is true of the other northern snow-fed streams. The little rivers about Umballa, on the other hand, are fed by the rains. The Puñjâb is scarcely affected at all by the monsoon. The rains there are chiefly the light winter rains. In summer the storms are mainly whirlwinds of dust, which turn day into night.

*Notes from India.*—By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

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1. *Bridles in sculpture and painting.*
  2. *Buddha's woolly hair.*
  3. *The veiled Jain at Bādāmi.*
  4. *Wooden fences in India.*
  5. *The Anandasram.*
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THE following notes are chiefly observations made from time to time in connection with visits paid to several of the ancient monuments of India in 1896-97.

1. **Bridles in sculpture and painting.**

A curious study is afforded the archæologist by the treatment of the reins and bridles carved and depicted on Indic monuments. The question whether of old the Hindu's horse was guided with a bit has never been very satisfactorily discussed. In an essay published in this Journal in 1888 (vol. xiii. p. 258-265), I pointed out that in the multifarious heaps of articles described as abandoned on the battle-field the Epic makes no mention of bits or saddles. Arrian says that the Indians had a bit but no curb bit, and directed the horse by a spike outside, *i. e.* behind the jaw. In *Tree and Serpent Worship* (p. 134), Fergusson says that the presence of the bit in the sculptures at Sānchi is doubtful.

As the result of two visits to Sānchi I can say without hesitation that there is no doubt at all in regard to the matter. The subject must have appeared of slight importance to the learned architect, for he selected, to illustrate the 'uncertainty,' the very worst examples of the monument at Sānchi, one being weather-worn and the other being blurred with dirt. In figs. 1 and 2 of plate xxxiv, *loc. cit.*, Fergusson has reproduced the car-horse and ridden horse of the left hand column of the north *torana*. Had he chosen, instead, the car-horse of the right hand *torana* he would have set the matter at rest. Here the chariot-horse is harnessed, as far as the curb goes, as described by Arrian. There is no bit, but the reins meet back of the jaw.

But the Sānchi *tope* will reward a closer investigation in this regard, the results of which I here give with the brevity demanded by the trivial character of the investigation, what importance it possesses resting less on the fact that some of the horses at Sānchi have bits and some do not, than in the instructive conservation of old forms plainly seen in much later monuments as compared with the earlier.

Some of the doubtful cases at Sānchi may be cleared up by observing that in cases where the sculpture is perfectly plain there are two distinct forms of headstalls, and these are systematically employed, so that even when the minuteness of the sculpture or its worn appearance renders it difficult to decide from the appearance of the mouth, the form of the headstall will often determine the point. Thus, in certain clear cases of the use of the bit the third strap across the face is lacking; but when the spike (behind the jaw) is intended, the strap passes over the nostrils, and, together with one beneath and one above the eyes, gives the three-fold headstall not found where bits are used.

At Sānchi there may be one important historical result yielded by the treatment of the headstall. It is this, that, if the testimony of the sculptures can be trusted to decide the point, the north *torāṇa* is indisputably the oldest; for in not a single case is a bit carved upon it. In my opinion the east *torāṇa* is next oldest, for here the only bitted horse is driven by a man, apparently a foreigner, who wears a fillet and not a turban as is the case with the other charioteers; and there is no case of a ridden horse having a bit. The south *torāṇa* with its clear cases of bits on chariot-horses comes next; and the west *torāṇa*, which has not only chariot-horses but ridden horses bitted, is the latest of all.

I must, however, here premise what I shall show in detail below, that whereas a total absence of bit may undoubtedly signify an antique piece of sculpture, the fact that any one specimen still retains the old style does not prove its antiquity. In fact, sculptures, both in wood and stone, executed long after the bit was known and used, are apt to hark back to the old spike-form. It must not be supposed that this is due either to carelessness or inability on the part of the artist. They that are acquainted with the delicate minuteness of the Indic artist in stone will not believe that he either could not or would not make the reins run to the mouth instead of grouping them in a block behind the jaw. The fact that on other sculptures the latter arrangement is often



given up for the former shows that one was as easy as the other to make. There are numerous small figures that have the reins to the mouth. The reason why the bit is not represented is in many cases, I believe, simply the conservatism of religious art. I will now take up the Sānchi *toranas* in detail.

*North torana.* The left pillar (from without) has, on the outer face, horses ridden without stirrup or saddle or bit. The headstall has the customary three bands, as described above. This figure is weathered badly, but is unmistakable if closely scrutinized and compared with others of like sort. On the inside of this pillar there is another well-worn horse, not, as before, ridden, but a chariot-horse. Here, despite the abrasion, the absence of the bit is perfectly clear. The reins are gathered in behind the jaw (where the spike is, *apud* Arrian). On the outer face of the right hand pillar the chariot-horse, with the three-banded headstall, stands out very conspicuously. The mouth is open, the reins meet behind the jaw, and are hung back from there upon the neck. The open mouth shows clearly that there is nothing in the way of a bit intruding within it. On the cross-bar of this *torana* there are, above, a number of ridden horses in full relief. Not one of them has a bit. Below are represented several chariot-horses, also without bit. From the inside (next to the *tope*), a corresponding row of ridden horses in full relief on the top of the second bar shows the same features. In all of these the reins are bunched behind the jaw. There are also some ridden horses in bas-relief on the lowest bar and on the right hand pillar (from within); but they are all harnessed with the rein behind the jaw, in marked contrast to the horned beasts also represented here, which have a rope (but no sign of a bit) in the mouth. The sculpture on the left (inside) pillar reproduces that of the right, and as the latter is a little more doubtful it should be compared with the other, its counterpart, and also looked at not only from the ramp of the *tope* but from the ground below. It will then become clear that here also the reins do not enter the mouth of the horses.

*East torana.* The pair of chariot-horses on the left pillar (from without) near the ground are very much worn, but they appear to have no bit. The inside of the right pillar, on the other hand, has a charioteer, wearing a fillet, driving two high-crested horses. These horses have but two bands in their headstall (the one under the eyes is lacking), and wear bits, which plainly enter the mouth. On the cross-bar there is sculptured in

relief a chariot-horse without bit. From the inside the only animals having anything in the mouth are griffins and winged lions. This is the conventional harness of all such animals (griffins, tigers, and lions) on all the *toranas*. It is a simple rope (without bit or ring) passing through the mouth.

South *torana*. Here, from without, there are seen two chariot-horses in bas-relief on the left pillar. They very clearly have bits in the mouth. In the case of the ridden horse, lower down on the pillar, the bit is doubtful. The horse has neither stirrup nor saddle. On the middle bar, in this case a chariot-horse, the use of the bit is also uncertain. Apparently there is no bit in use here. From the inside point of view appear, on the right and left corner of the upper bar, horses wearing a blanket (as saddle) and reined, but having no bit. These horses are neither ridden nor harnessed in chariot. At the extreme left of the lower bar there is a doubtful case of the use of bit in a chariot-horse, but all the other chariot-horses on the lower bar are devoid of bit.

West *torana*. The wild horned beasts or griffins on the side of both pillars have ropes in their mouths. High upon one of the pillars, seen from without, is represented a horse ridden without bit or stirrup, having a three-band headstall. From the inside, a ridden horse is seen with two bands and a bit, on the right hand of the lowest bar. This horse has a saddle, and the whole is very clearly cut. In the middle bar the chariot-horses may have bits, but this is doubtful. In the upper bar a ridden horse with three bands appears to have no bit. On the lowest bar the chariot-horses have bits very clearly represented.

On the lone *torana* standing in the northeast corner of the ground there is no representation of a bitted horse; but in the (pillar) figure of the second bar there are ridden horses with head-bands.

Before passing to a consideration of the use of the bit in other sculptures, I will here add one or two notes on near-lying topics from Sanchi itself. The survey of all the monuments at Sanchi seems to show that bits were used at the time all the *toranas* were erected except the north *torana*. The same sculptures give us a clear notion of the way other beasts than horses were harnessed, and a very perfect idea of the ancient chariot.

In the lawbooks of Vasistha, Baudhāyana, and Manu, and perhaps in others, mention is made of bulls that have their nostrils

pierced, and of the nose-band, *nāsya*, of cattle (Vas. ii. 32 ; Baudh. iii. 2. 3 ; M. viii. 291). Medhātithi on the last passage distinguishes between the *aṅkuṣa* for elephants, the *khalīna* (χαλινός) for horses, and the *rajju* for bulls or oxen dragging a *yāna*, or, as it is called to-day, a *shigram*, or bullock-cart. Now the curious thing is that bulls are never represented in the Sānchi sculpture as having a nozzle-band. They are frequently represented (the humped ox, as in the lone northeast *torāna* and in the north *torāna*), but always without reins, though ridden. On the other hand, the griffins, lions, and tigers, as remarked above, have a rope, not in the nostril but in the mouth. Furthermore, it is the universal custom to-day all over India to direct both bullocks (cows) and camels by the nozzle-band, a cord through the perforated nostrils. But on the east *torāna* there are represented two Bactrian camels (two-humped), whose driver is whipping them up from a kneeling posture. One of these has the rein in the mouth (left, inside, of second bar). But in two fine figures on the right of the same bar both nostril and mouth are free. In the left hand Bactrian camel, the rein passes beyond the mouth but touches it ; whereas in the one on the right hand the rein is clear of both. The figure is very plainly sculptured, and the rein lies so far back of the nostril that there can be no mistake about it. I cannot imagine how the artist intends to represent the harnessing of this brute, but it is curious that in no one of the four camels represented is there any nozzle-band. The two-humped Bactrian camel, by the way, is the only camel represented at Sānchi, though only the single hump is common to-day. In the same way only lions with manes are represented, though the lions of India to-day have no manes. But maned lions are also found at Ajanta, and are spoken of in the Epic.<sup>1</sup>

The goats (or bulls) and asses ridden by women on the lowest bar of the east *torāna* are all harnessed with a rope in the mouth, without bit. The doubtful animals (goats or bulls) have goats' horns but are as large as bulls, the head being the size of the woman's torso.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Mbhā. xii. 117. 7, *kesarin*. Probably the sculpture shows the effect of *ahimsā*. I may add that the Epic condemns to hell those that pierce the nostrils of cattle, in the same passage which condemns to hell those who sell the Vedas or commit them to writing ; xiii. 28. 72, *vedānām lekhaḥkās*, and 79, *nāsānām vedhaḥkāḥ ca ye bandh-akāḥ ca paṣūnām ye*.

The chariot, as is shown in many of the sculptures, holds two men, the driver on the left, the bowman on the right. The former is sometimes naked save for a loin-cloth. The chariot is almost exactly the size of a modern *tonga*. Were the splash-board of the *tonga* rounded to a fence and the awning and seats removed, the model of a chariot would appear, even including the little turned-up plank at the rear, which is conspicuous in the sculptured chariots. In these, the knee of the horse generally is on a level with the axle and the top of the fence lies almost over the haunches of the horse, so that the hands of the driver could rest on the back of the beasts in front. The ramp of the car is scarcely above the driver's knees and well below the top of the haunch in the case of most of the chariot-horses. The top of the wheel is about level with the horse's belly. Such a car is shown on the south *torana*, inside, rather smaller than most. Here the bottom of the car is close to the ground and the driver's waist as he stands up does not come higher than the horse's back. To the right of the same bar of the south *torana* there is a larger chariot, in proportion to the horses. The ramp of the car is here as high as the horse's back. The fence (splash-board) of the car is hollowed forward (like that of a sleigh) and is seen in three-quarter view. The fence curves right over the horse's back and is grasped by the lord of the car with the left hand. Both cars are open behind and have a tongue out in the rear as a foot-board. The place where the fence (forward) meets the ramp of the car, both curving down, is well below the driver's waist. A car in the lowest bar of the west *torana* shows plainly that the fence (splash-board of to-day) overtops the back of the horses. Here the fence is straight (no curve as above). In this scene the lord carries a large bow. The driver leans over the fence on the horses, just like a jockey; and the fence is as close as possible to the horse, the top overreaching the haunches. The wheels of the chariots have 19, 20, 32 spokes, in different cases. The middle bar of the west *torana* has two fine cars (32 spokes). Here the ramp and fence are high above the horse's haunches. The two pieces are like two equal wings, and in each are curious holes, one in the fence and two in the ramp, as if peep-holes. In one of these cars the ramp meets the fence above, in the other just below, the top of the wheel. The left (outer) pillar of the east *torana* shows a car (of 19 spokes) where the fence overtops very well and almost covers the horse's haunch. In the south *torana* (outside, left

pillar) the fence of the chariot has a curious column to hold it. It runs straight up the middle of the rounded flange that makes the fence. The side of the car has none in the ramp. Here the tongue or foot-board is very plain, tipping up and running out quite a distance from the floor. Query, is this the Epic *anukarṣa* of Mbhā. viii. 19. 42, etc. ?

To return to the bit : In the procession of the first cave of Ajanta (ascribed to the seventh century) there are some horses with saddles but without bits. Other cases here are doubtful owing to the worn state of the pictures ; but in cave 17, ascribed to the fourth century, there are some finely painted horses, ridden, plainly having bits.

If we take this as a terminus, I can best show the point I wish to make by the following examples. Granted that between the first century B. C. (Sānchi) and the fourth century A. D. bits became common ; then the religious conservatism of which I spoke may be shown by all subsequent sculpture. I have selected a few striking examples, as follows :

A row of horses, ridden, in the temple of Somnathpur, seem still to show absence of bit. The remains at Halebid show small horses ridden without saddle ; but one large rider has saddle and stirrups, but no bit, though the head is in full relief. Here the mass behind the jaw is still bunched together, as in the old sculptures. In a large slab from Belur there are two huge horses having the reins going plainly to the back of the jaw and not to the mouth. They have the saddle but no stirrups. This stone is referred to the middle of the ninth century A. D., and is preserved in the museum at Bangalore. At Ellora there are only two cases.<sup>1</sup> In one of these, in the Brahman caves, of two horses represented one has no bit and the other has a sort of button on the halter but it is far from the mouth. These, too, may belong to the eighth or ninth century. At Madura and Trichinopoly the superb granite horses (of the seventeenth century) are carved just as they would be to-day, with bits and rings at the side of the mouth ; but at Seringapatam, the oldest of these pagoda temples, the old style is still preserved, even in the wooden sculpture of the triumphal cars of the temple, which date from this century.

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<sup>1</sup> In the views from the Rāmāyaṇa here sculptured, the figures are all so badly weathered that the heads are almost worn away, and nothing can be determined.

There is, however, one modification of this fact. I noticed that at Seringapatam the present car-figures are in great part copies of the figures of an old car, which is now disused and thrown to one side. So the bitless horses may have been reproduced from a fairly antique model. Still it is remarkable, as the temple itself is not very old (it was probably not built before the ninth century), to find such plain evidence at a late date of the old style. The carving is very minute and clear. A double rein in the case of a large ridden horse goes back of the jaw, and the mouth is pressed open, but there is nothing in it. It seems to be drawn back from behind. The reins meet behind the jaw in each of the four large sculptured horses of the car of the western temple. There is an inner row of figures here in relief, exhibiting a hunting scene, with the same double rein to the back of the jaw. In the inner relief on the west side of the car, the rein passes to a strap at the back of the jaw. The figure at the back of the car has a saddle but no stirrups. The carving is as plain as at Sānchi in all these figures. Here then, at Seringapatam, is an excellent opportunity to see how the antique forms are preserved, not as copies of the actualities of the day but as reconstructions of the past. This raises an important question. How far can we trust the archæological accuracy of any of the old sculptures? May not even the north *torāna* at Sānchi simply reproduce the conventionalized headstall of sculpture?<sup>1</sup>

#### ii. Buddha's woolly hair.

It has been claimed by Fergusson that Buddha was of Mongolian origin, and in support of this he makes the sweeping remark that "Buddha always has woolly hair."

This implicitly states, as well, that only Buddha is so represented; otherwise the argument would be without point. The errors in the statement and judgment are hence four in number: 1. Woolly hair would not show that Buddha is regarded as a Mongolian. 2. Buddha does not always have the hair which Fergusson calls woolly. 3. Other saints as well have this hair. 4. The hair is not woolly but curly.

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<sup>1</sup> Chariots with four horses are found on the Bharhut Stūpa, but the reins do not show bits. The head-gear is arranged for the spike, apparently, but I do not think any one case is decisive here. The straps around the nose and jaw would, however, indicate rather the spike than the bit.

I take these points up briefly in order.—1. In the Ajanta caves there is a portrait of a Chinaman. As the cave is ascribed to the seventh century and contains historical scenes and personages (notably Khosru II) of the seventh century, the portrait is no doubt intended as the likeness of the famous traveller Hiouen Thsang, who visited India in that century. However this may be, the picture certainly represents a Chinaman, and his hair is black and straight like that of Mongolians of the present day. 2. In the caves of Bādāmi there is a Buddha facing a Jain, on the veranda of the fourth cave. This Buddha, with the *sheshnag* over his head, is perfectly smooth-haired. The other Buddhas of the cave have the lozenge-square hair which Fergusson calls woolly. 3. In the caves of Ellora, many of the Jain figures have exactly the same lozenge and curly hair in their caves as have the Buddhas in the Buddhistic caves. The huge Jain, 73 ft. in height, at Belgoda or Belagolla has plates representing the same hair in its first stereotyped form. 4. The hair of the Buddha has three stages of sculptured development. In the oldest statues the hair is gathered up in little spiral conch-shaped curls, rising in large statues some half inch above the head; and represented as rising thus not only on the forehead but on the crown and in the twisted top-knot to its very top. In the second stage, this curl is given by a single twist, or whorl, not raised to any extent. In the third stage, and found particularly in the small Buddhas, where the carving is less carefully done, this curl is conventionalized still more and becomes a lozenge-square, repeated over the whole head. Plain knobs occasionally take the place of the spiral. In all these forms except the lozenge-square the hair is plainly curly, and in the lozenge-square it is simply stereotyped.

The different statues of Buddha at Sānchi show these grades very plainly. No 'woolly' hair was ever long enough to be twisted into a great coil at the back of the head and show the 'wool' to the end of the coil, as is the case here in the huge Buddha of the *vihāra*. The figure has the true large conch-spiral, with the high top-knot containing the same curled locks. The same is true of the Buddha in the chapel, and of the red-headed Buddha back of the (oldest) north *torāṇa*. Back of the east *torāṇa* the Buddha is smaller, and has hair in whorled curls without the conch, though slightly raised; while the last Buddha, behind the south *torāṇa*, has no conch, but only the scroll, perfectly smooth, a twisted lock.

One of these three forms is found in almost all the sculptured Buddhas. In the case of the Jain images at Ellora, alluded to above, the Jains sometimes have hair in straight rows // // //, but often it is exactly like the Buddhist scroll—whorled hair. In the case of the large Jains the hair is just like Buddha's; but in the smaller images it is either in whorls or parallel straight lines. In the Buddhist caves themselves (Ellora) the largest Buddha has hair in conch-shape, while lozenge-squares occur in the less important Buddhas of the same cave. In one of these caves complete circles show clearly the curly nature. One Buddha only has round smooth knobs; while all the rest have either circles, lozenge-squares, or complete conch-spirals. At Ajanta even the small figures have the spiral. Remarkable is the fact that in the turban-plaits of the god's head-dress of the eastern triumph-car at Seringapatam the same lozenge-square is reproduced to make the tower of the head-dress. Remarkable also is the fact that while at Ajanta all the figures of Buddha have scroll or conch-shaped hair, the attendants on Buddha in one of the later caves have ribbed hair (like the Jains above). Finally, in one of these caves, Buddha is painted black with red hair, and with white (female!) attendants. The most modern cave alone (No. 26) has small Buddhas with mere round knobs and no scroll.

I would suggest that the huge figure at Belagolla is perhaps not a Jain but a Buddha. It is called Gomata, possibly for Gotama? Whichever it is, it has this same conventionalized curly hair, as Buchanan rightly calls it.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In being curly and short, the sculptured hair of Buddha simply preserves Buddhistic literary tradition. The Peshāwar Buddha (now in Calcutta) has long plaited hair, but it may be said in general that, while Buddha's hair in the Gāndhāra sculpture is arranged in an entirely new fashion, even here it is wavy, so that curly hair would be indicated. That others than Buddha have the same hair is shown best by the Jain figures at Ellora referred to above; but also by the fact that in the Gāndhāra sculptures, the murderers (with Devadatta) have this form of hair also; while the same kind of hair is found in the Mathurā sculptures, as well as on the heads of the Sānchi 'Scythians.' I cannot agree with Anderson's explanation, *Handbook*, i. p. 174, that all this is due to sculpture being "not true to nature," or to copying from Greek models. I am not sure that Gomata stands for Gotama, but the lower classes indulge in great freedom in respect of such changes, calling Lucknow *Nuklo*, and Eluru (Ellora) *Erulu*, etc.



### iii. The veiled Jain at Bādāmi.

Burgess speaks of "bands around the thighs" of the Jain in the fourth cave. This is, I think, misleading. The bands here go straight across the panel itself, as they do in the case of all the small Buddhas of the pillars, and notably in the case of the large Buddha at the other end of the veranda, who stands opposite to the Jain. These bands are dark *colored* stripes (not chiselled), and I think represent not clothing but a veil (both the Jain and Buddha being naked) hung in front of the whole figure. The Jain figure is whitewashed and the outer ends of the bands are almost marked out, so that they do not show very well, but they are precisely the same stripes as are found in the case of the other figures. These stripes cross the whole, both figures and background. The only difference between the two great figures of the veranda is that Buddha has *sheshnag* over his head, while the Jain wears his hair in a top-knot. The bands go all the way up to the neck in the small figures, and in the large Buddha they cross the whole ground and extend from the foot to the shoulder. It looks as if some Çvetāmbaras had subsequently, by means of paint, attempted to modify the nakedness of the Digambara Jain. At any rate the bands are screens for the whole figure, not on or around the figure but in front of it, and extending beyond it to right and left across the whole panel.

### iv. Wooden fences in India.

I would raise the question, why the stone fences of Bodh Gayā and Sānchi necessarily imply a wooden model? There is only one way to hold the stone slabs up, and that is to insert them in the uprights. But why does this show that it is a copy of wood? Every railway station in India has its sign-board (with the station name) made on the same principle of two stone pillars and an inserted slab between. It is the simplest way to make a fence, almost the only way to make a stone fence. Why then must it have been an imitation? Conversely, where in India were wooden fences of this pattern ever used? The country usage to-day, and the allusions to fences in legal literature, both point to the same fence,—the only fence one ever sees in India,—one made of brush or of cactus. I do not believe that the "wooden model" of the stone fence ever existed. There is no such fence known on the soil and there is no necessity in the nature of

things for the assumption. It seems to be purely an architect's idea, without support in the historical fence of India.

#### v. The Anandasram.

The Anandasram, *ānandāçrama*, is a Poona institution, a description of which may perhaps interest the Society. In our own country men leave money to found colleges, but this is an institution founded exclusively for Sanskrit scholars, so that it surpasses in nobility every foundation for education yet invented.

The Anandasram is, in fact, a sort of monastic retreat for Sanskrit scholars. If one wishes to retire from the world and study Sanskrit, he applies to the Joyous Retreat, has a room given to him, is fed gratis, and may sit there all his life doing nothing but studying, not even having students to interfere with his work. When he has written anything there is a beautiful little hall ready for him, in which to read his lucubration to an audience of fellow-students. And when his work is completed there is a very good printing press, where his book can be published without expense to himself, no matter how unpopular and unprofitable it may be. The little rooms for the hermit scholars are airy and pleasant, and large enough for any ascetic scholar. Furthermore, there is a very good Sanskrit library and a large collection of Sanskrit MSS. all kept in a fire-proof building. The whole institution is built about one hollow square, one side of which contains the printing and publishing rooms, another the scholars' apartments, and a third the hall and library, while the fourth comprises the gateway and small outbuildings.

Here one might stay and pass a quiet life of literary ease. There is, I believe, no restriction on the freedom of the scholars who may make use of this retreat. Nor is there any special official tendency to follow or conform to. While many of the works published by the Anandasram press are of a religious nature, no attempt is made to restrict the scholarly inmates to metaphysical or religious investigation. On the contrary, the great work now occupying the attention of Mr. Apte, the learned Superintendent of the Institution, is an archæological one, being in fact nothing less than a complete analysis and synopsis of all the antiquities of the Mahābhārata, an enormous work which, when completed, will be nothing less than an encyclopedia of all the isolated facts, *realien*, of the great Epic, collected and arranged for every point of view. Needless to say, the Superin-

tendent himself only oversees the labor. In this happy land of India one works a good deal by proxy. Thus Mr. Apte has three or four pandits constantly collecting his material for him; while he merely arranges it as it is brought to him.

The present Superintendent, Mr. H. N. Apte, is the nephew of the founder, Anandasarasvati Svami, alias Mr. Mahadevi Chimanaji Apte, B.A., LL.B., Pleader and Fellow of the University of Bombay. During his life-time he supported the institution, and at his death bequeathed a lac and twenty-five thousand rupees to endow it. It was established in 1888. The formal objects of the institution are, first, to form a collection of Sanskrit MSS. on all possible subjects, and to preserve the same; second, to print and publish correct editions of valuable Sanskrit works. The most important work yet published is a collection of thirty-two minor Upanishads (1895) in one stout volume, carefully edited, with commentaries.

Significant of the new direction given in the last few years to education in India is the fact that, despite the advantages of free board and lodging offered to any native Sanskrit scholar who wishes to study and work here, not one has yet applied. The rooms all stand empty. The Anandasram is, therefore, occupied solely with printing Sanskrit works and collecting MSS., and as yet the Superintendent with his pandit clerks are the only people in the institution.

*The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians.*  
—By DR. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

PART II.<sup>1</sup>

NOTES AND GLOSSARY TO THE SELECTED LETTERS.

As stated in Part I. of this paper (vol. xviii. p. 129, n. 2), the third and fourth volumes of Harper's excellent *Corpus Epistolarum* appeared while my article was going through the press. All the texts I have treated are, therefore, now readily accessible to scholars ;<sup>2</sup> and, in view of the fact that accented transliterations have already been given in Part I., while syllabic transliterations of all the words which occur in them are given in the subjoined Glossary, it seems superfluous to publish these texts in syllabic transliteration, as was done by Delitzsch in his series of papers on Assyrian Epistolary Literature in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. Nor has it seemed necessary, in the present state of Assyriology, to give any extensive philological commentary. Philological explanations have, so far as possible, been relegated to the Glossary, where they can be given in the most convenient form ; the Glossary is, in fact, intended to supply all that is needful in this direction, and at the same time to serve as a commentary. The following notes have, therefore, been directed chiefly to the explanation of the more difficult syntactical constructions, to notices of previous translations of some of the texts, and to some general remarks in regard to the subject matter of certain passages. In the Glossary a strictly alphabetical arrangement has been adopted, which will, it is hoped, be sufficiently clear to require no explanation. It may, however, be well to note that if two words have the same consonantal skeleton, the forms with short vowels precede those with long vowels, and the forms with simple consonants those with doubled consonants ; for instance,

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<sup>1</sup> For Part I. see vol. xviii., 1897, pp. 125-175.

<sup>2</sup> The following texts in Part I. are now published in Harper's work : 1 (K 524) = H. 282 ; 2 (K 13) = H. 281 ; 3 (K 10) = H. 280 ; 4 (K 528) = H. 269 ; 5 (K 79) = H. 266 ; 6 (K 824) = H. 290 ; 14 (S 1064) = H. 392.

*adu, idu, udu; ádu, ídu, údu, êdu; adá, idá, udá; ádá, ídá, údá, êdá; addu, iddu, uddu; addá, iddá, uddá.* Compare my review of Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* in the American Journal of Philology, vol. xvii. pp. 485-491.

## NOTES.

I. (*K 524.*)

l. 8. S. A. Smith and Strassmaier read the second character in this line DAM, i. e. *aššatu*; Pinches and Harper NIN, i. e. *axdtu*.

ll. 9-11. *ultu . . . ittalka.* Strassmaier (S. A. Smith, *Asurbani-pal*, ii. p. 87) renders: "von Elam aus ist in Gefangenschaft gerathen; zu den Tachâ war er (gegangen=) gebracht worden," which can hardly be reconciled with the text.

ll. 11-12. *ultu . . . aḫbata.* Smith: "als ich seine Hände von den Tachâ zurück erhielt." What this means it is difficult to say.

l. 14. Smith reads here *adī napšdtešu*, taking ME as = MEŠ, and translates, "noch am Leben." Pinches (p. 77) correctly *zi-me*.

l. 17. Smith: "es war ein Bote da," but *ibāšā* would have to be the present, "there is a messenger." In this case, moreover, we should expect *ibāši*, and it seems better to read *ibāšu* "has come to him." Smith has also failed to understand the conjunctive use of *ša* in this line.

l. 19. Smith reads *Ti-il-[mu-un]*, but the traces as given both by Harper and by Smith himself, hardly favor this restoration.

l. 22. Strassmaier (p. 87): "fragten um ein Orakel."

l. 26. Smith: "50 Stück Kleider," taking KU = *ḫubātu*. KU is certainly obscure here, but it can hardly stand for *ḫubātu*.

l. 27. *ana kaspī ina qātišu itabkāni.* Smith: "mit Silber gaben sie in seine Hände." For this phrase, which often occurs in the contract tablets, cf. T<sup>c</sup> 30, sub 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎣.

l. 29. *immereni* 'our sheep.' Smith reads *lu ardā-ni*, and translates 'Hausschafe.' Of course LU-NITA is merely the common ideogram for *immeru*, and *ni* is the pronominal suffix. For Strassmaier's singular rendering of ll. 29 ff., which Smith, in spite of some objections, considers "sehr passend," cf. Smith ii. p. 88. It is hardly worth while to reproduce it here.

l. 31. *sādu.* Smith compares *sa-a-du* = *na-a-ru*, V R. 28, 1 ef., which Strassmaier renders "Ufer des Flusses"; but cf. *HW.*,

<sup>1</sup> Wherever Smith is cited in these notes, S. A. Smith is meant.

p. 488<sup>a</sup>. In this line Smith translates *sadu* 'Ufer(?)', in l. 39, 'Grenze(?)'.

## 2. (K. 13.)

ll. 1-7. These lines, of which the beginnings are mutilated, may be readily restored, partly by comparing them with K 10 (H. 280), ll. 1-4, and partly from the context. In l. 5, we must evidently restore [DIŠ *Um-ma-xal-d*]a-a-šu; in l. 6, [*i-tu-ra*]-*amma* is required by the context; and in l. 7, the restoration *ki*-[*i ip*]-*la-xu* is obvious.

l. 14. *šaknū, iqābū*, circumstantial, § 152. *Umma* here refers to the whole of what follows, and this contains two separate quotations, each introduced by *ki*.

ll. 16-18. For my former reading of these lines (vol. xviii. p. 141) I would substitute the following: "Agā gabbi ina puluxti ša emāqu ša 'bel šarrāni beliḡa. Māt Elamti kīma de'i xurrurā, 'maruṣti itārū, puluxti ulteribū, "all these parts are in terror of the troops of the lord of kings, my lord. The Elamites are ravaged as though (by) a plague, they are in a state of utter calamity, they are invaded by panic." *Māt Elamti* stands here figuratively for the Elamites, and hence the use of the plural, as constructio ad sensum, in the verbs that follow.—*maruṣti itārū*, properly "they have turned into, become, calamity"; cf. אָנִי שְׁלוֹם "I am (all) peace," Ps. cxx. 7, אָנִי תְּפִלָּה "I am (all) prayer," Ps. cix. 4. For examples of *tāru* meaning 'to become,' cf. *HW.*, p. 702<sup>a</sup>.—*puluxti ulteribū*, properly "they have been caused to get into a panic."

l. 20. Delitzsch, *HW.*, p. 362<sup>a</sup>, gives *kutallu* without translation, but I see no reason for departing from the generally accepted rendering 'side,' which is supported by all the passages in which the word occurs (cf. *HW.*, l. c.; *B.A.*, i. p. 227). Cf. כְּתֵל, Cant. ii. 19; כְּתֵל, Dan. v. 5; כְּתֵלִיא, Ezr. v. 8, 'wall,' i. e. properly side of a house or room; Syr. כּוּתְּלָא 'poop, stern' of a vessel, where it is limited by usage to the rear side.—*muṣṣurat* means not "was abandoned" (im Stich gelassen, *HW.*, p. 362<sup>a</sup>), but, as formerly rendered by Delitzsch (*B.A.* i. p. 227), "was let loose, fell away." For *muṣṣuru* as a synonym of Heb. שָׁלַח, cf. Haupt's remarks in *PAOS.*, March, '94, p. cvii. The sense of the passage is that, when famine was added to the many evils under which the land already labored, there was a general defection from the party of Ummanaldas, and factional spirit was rife. Some parts of Elam,

indeed, were in a state of open revolt, alleging as a pretext their dissatisfaction at the slaying of Umkhulumâ (ll. 21-23). The words *mātsunu gabbi ina kutallišunu muššurat*, "their whole land fell away from their side," lead naturally to what follows.

l. 26. Literally, "is not this the word which," etc.?—*adī lā azāliqū*, the present is here employed as the tense of incomplete action.

l. 35. *pašīrdīti* "as a guarantee, credentials." Bel-ibnī proposes to arrange for the capture of Nabû-bel-šumâte by sending a private message to Ummanaldas, with the royal signet to serve as credentials and to lend force to his request, or rather command. He fears, however, that Sardanapallus may deem such a method beneath his dignity, and may prefer to send his command, in the usual manner, by a royal courier. That—the king may think—will be credentials enough for the Elamites. But Ummanaldas, however willing he may be, is weak, and Nabû-bel-šumâte, being not only exceedingly wary, but possessing, moreover, great influence with the Elamite nobles, can easily make himself secure by the judicious use of money, if once he gets wind of the affair. The arrival of the royal messenger, accompanied by an escort of soldiers, will be sure to attract his attention and to arouse his suspicion. It is best, therefore, to use less open means, and perhaps, if only the gods will be active in the matter, the wily Chaldean may yet be taken unawares and delivered over to the Assyrian king.

l. 46. *ultu Umzulumâ' balṭu*, properly, "from, commencing from (the time that), U. was alive."

ll. 47 ff. It had been the habit of Nabû-bel-šumâte to lavish his portion upon his partizans, but now times are hard and grain is scarce. He therefore alleges that the officers who controlled the distribution of the grain had defrauded him of his proper share, and claims restitution. Accordingly he seizes every šarnuppu he can catch and compels him to hand over the original amount claimed, together with an enormous increase by way of interest and indemnity. Ummanaldas, who naturally objects to these proceedings, sends several times to demand the surrender of the grain thus seized, but without success.

### 3. (*K 10.*)

l. 8. *kādu*: the meaning 'post, garrison,' seems to suit the context. The general sense is clear. The Assyrians, under command

of Mušezib-Marduk (rev. 2. 12), were to use Sabdānu as a base of operations, and thence to harrass the Elamites.

l. 17. *qaqqar ina pānišunu rāqu* "a long stretch of ground lay before them." The small force of five hundred men operating in a hostile country, where they were constantly liable to attack, could hardly undertake a long march encumbered by a large number of prisoners, and for this reason more than two hundred had to be put to death.

ll. 24-25. *pišunu iddanānu*, literally, "they gave their utterance," i. e. they sent a message to arrange the terms (*ade*) of capitulation.

#### 4. (*K 528.*)

l. 9. *tušačbat-ma*, here with ellipsis of *xarrānu*, as indicated by *tašápar* which follows (l. 10). For the expression *xarrānu čabātu, sučbutu*, cf. *HW.*, pp. 561<sup>a</sup>, 562<sup>a</sup>.

l. 13. *māt Elamti ildudá-ma*. For my former rendering of these words (vol. xviii. p. 145), I would substitute, "brought Elam (against us)." Cf. *nakru u bábáti ina mušxi bit belika ul tašdud* "thou hast not brought foe or famine against thy lord's house," 6, 27-29.—l. 22. For *attallak* (vol. xviii. p. 146) read *addálap*.

ll. 29-32. *nipxur-ma, nillik-ma, nuterá-ma, niddin*, are all cohortatives (§ 145).

#### 5. (*K 79.*)

l. 7. In the name *Pir'i-Bel*, the original has, instead of *DIN-GIR-EN, I-en* (i. e. *išten*), which is doubtless a mere scribal error. I assume that the published text is correct as Pinches (IV R.<sup>2</sup>, 46) and Harper (No. 266) agree.

l. 8. *šanáte agá x*, literally, these ten years.

Rev. ll. 18-19 (=H. 266, r. 13-14). The text of these lines seems to be very uncertain (cf. Bezold, *Literatur*, p. 240). The following *šunáti-ma . . . liqbá* would seem to indicate that proper names preceded.

#### 6. (*K 824.*)

l. 5. Note *ša tašpur* here and in l. 35 without the overlapping vowel. S. A. Smith has entirely misunderstood the passage that follows.



ll. 17-20. The construction of these lines offers some difficulty. It seems best to take *ul* as used absolutely 'No!' and *ina . . . gatáta* as parenthetical. Ordinarily we should expect *á ámur* in l. 20, but the negation has already been expressed by *ul*, and it is not necessary to repeat it. This loose construction is due to the insertion of *ina . . . gatáta*, which interrupts the continuity. Smith renders: "Du bist nicht wegen des Dienstes des Hauses deines Herrn getrennt," etc.

l. 29. Smith reads *ultušđud*, but the usual form would be *ultašđid*, and the context requires the second person.

l. 36. *ban ša tepušá* "the good (service) which ye have done." *ban* is construct (before the relative) of *baná*, 'honorable, good,' etc. Cf. *ba-ni ša tašpura* "it is well that thou hast sent," K. 95 (H. 288), r. 3; *ba-ni ša tačbatášunáti* "it is well that ye have seized them," K. 94 (H. 287), 7. Cf. also *baná* in l. 39 of the present text.

### 8. (K 629.)

Rev. l. 6. *náš-šappáte* is nominative absolute.—*ša niqáđu ibá-šáni*, literally, "(he) whose offering exists."

l. 13. *lušallimá lipušá* "may they perfectly execute," like Heb. ויקח וישק, Arab. ما عاد جمع, etc.

### 9. (K. 547.)

l. 1. *dupšar máti*. The traces given by Harper, and the following *máti* (cf. W. 24) shows that A-BA is to be restored here. Delitzsch (*HW.*, p. 4\*) gives A-BA without translation, and refers to *dupšarru*, where, however, no mention of A-BA is to be found. In his *Wörterbuch* (p. 23) A-BA is fully discussed, but is not connected with *dupšarru*. In a note on K. 572, 6 (*B.A.*, i. p. 218) he gives *dupšarru* as the equivalent of the ideogram A-BA, and points out the interchange between A-BA and *dupšarru* in III R. 2, Nos. iii, vii, xiii; 64, 35b. In III R. 2, Marduk-šum-iqíša, father of Nabú-zuqup-kena, is designated, ll. 17. 22. 24. 38. 55, as <sup>amel</sup> DUB-SAR, or, ll. 2. 8. <sup>amel</sup> DUB-SAR-RIM, while in ll. 2. 9, and III R. 64, 35b, he bears the title of <sup>amel</sup> A-BA. In Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, No. 109, 9, we find [*lu* <sup>amel</sup> DUB-SAR-]MEŠ *Aššurd lá* <sup>amel</sup> DUB-SAR-MEŠ *Armá*, which may be compared with <sup>amel</sup> A-BA *Aššurd*, <sup>amel</sup> A-BA *Armá* II R. 31, 64. 65. Further, in a large number of passages in the contract tablets we find the <sup>amel</sup> A-BA

exercising the legal or notarial functions of the *dupšarru* (cf. W. 23). In view of these facts I have here, and in 19, 1, rendered A-BA by *dupšarru*. I have done so, however, with a certain reservation. While I believe that A-BA can in general be replaced by *dupšarru*, it is by no means certain that it is merely ideogram for *dupšarru*. Of course, A-BA must not be confounded with AB-BA explained by *šibu* 'old man, elder'; but it is entirely possible that A-BA had some similar meaning, and was applied to the *dupšarru* as a term of respect, in the same way that *sheikh* is used in Arabic. It is a fact worthy of notice that in K.B. iv. we find in the Assyrian legal documents, from Rammân-nirârî III to Ašurbanipal, invariably A-BA, never *dupšarru*, while in Babylonian tablets of a similar character *dupšarru* (<sup>amel</sup> DUB-SAR, <sup>amel</sup> ŠID) consistently occurs from Šumu-abim (p. 10, l. 25) to Antiochus III (p. 319, l. 25), never A-BA; and Tallqvist, in his *Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nâ'id's*, does not mention A-BA as occurring in any Babylonian contract. Moreover, in Babylonian tablets, dated in the reign of the Assyrian king Sin-šar-iškun, we find, not A-BA, but *dupšarru*. Cf. K. B., iv. p. 174, Nos. i. ii. (dated at Sippar); 176, No. iii. (dated at Uruk). In the earlier Babylonian documents (K.B., iv. pp. 1-48) we find invariably <sup>amel</sup> DUB-SAR, while later <sup>amel</sup> ŠID seems to be most commonly used.

#### 14. (S 1064.)

ll. 9-11. S. A. Smith renders: "um die allgemeine Entzündung zu vermindern die um seine Augen ist," which needs no comment. *Sikru* stands for *zikru* 'man'; for similar interchange in case of the homonym *zikru* 'name, command,' cf. *sikir šaptišu*, Asurn. i. 5, *sikir piša*, Lay. 43, 2, *sikir Šamaš* Tig. Pil. i. 31. I see no necessity to assume, with Delitzsch (*HW.*, pp. 254<sup>b</sup>, 510<sup>a</sup>), the existence of two stems זכר and סקר. There is no evidence for the occurrence of ק in this stem except when followed by *u*, and in this case *qu* is merely a phonetic spelling, indicating the sound of the consonant as modified by the vowel following.

l. 14. Smith takes *irtumu* as  $\text{Q}^t$  of רום. I prefer to take it as prt. of רתם; see the glossary. For the use of the *modus relativus* without *ša* cf. § 147, 2.

ll. 24 ff. *ilânika* is nominative absolute.

l. 31. Smith: "noch 7 oder 8 Tage wird er leben," which is exactly the opposite of the true sense.

15. (*K 519.*)

Rev. l. 6. *ma'adu*, not adjective, but noun in apposition to *dāme*; literally, "blood, a (multitude, that is, a) profusion."

l. 10. *naxnazete ša appi* can only mean the alæ of the nose, as is shown by the context. Plugging the nares had not hitherto been resorted to, for that is the remedy suggested by Arad-Naná. The treatment must therefore have consisted in the application of external compresses, which could only have been placed upon (*ina muaxxi*, l. 9) the alæ. In such a case the nasal breathing would be impeded by the compresses, while, unless skilfully applied, the bandages, required to keep them in place, would interfere with breathing by the mouth.

l. 11. *naxnazātu* 'breathing': this rendering suits the context, and is also suggested by *naxnazete* (properly 'breathers') in the preceding line.

l. 12-13. *ištu pāni dāme uṣūni* "the blood flows in spite (of them)," literally "from before (them)"; that is, they only serve to interfere with the breathing of the patient, and do not check the hemorrhage (cf. r. ll. 3-7).—*šunu*, referring to *lippe*, is to be understood after *ina pāni*; cf. *ina libbi* used similarly without the pronominal suffix, **I4**, 25.

16. (*K 504.*)

l. 12. *lidbubu*. We should, of course, expect *lidbub*; *lid-bu-bu* may be a mere scribal error due to the influence of *li-ru-bu* in the preceding line.

l. 13. *kettu (ki-e-tu)*. S. A. Smith renders 'faithfully(?)' and connects with what precedes. In a note he states that he is "not certain as to the meaning and derivation of this word."

l. 16. Smith: "the house of the king, my lord sent to me."

Rev. ll. 5-6. *ina . . . lištura*. Smith renders: "suddenly they were destroyed; may they be written."(!)

ll. 8-10. *zunnu, ebāru*; the sign **MEŠ** is here not plural, but collective. Note the singular verbs. Smith: "Much rain constantly shall come. May the harvest (when) threshed the heart of the king, my lord, rejoice."

17. (*K 660.*)

l. 14. *karmatūni*; 3 fem. permans. agreeing with *naxxartu*. Strassmaier, *Nbn.*, No. 386 is an account of the receipt of 34

*na-ak-ri-ma-nu* (l. 14), which were made of leather, as shown by the determinative *SU* (= *mašak*) ll. 1. 4., and served *ana ki-ri-mu ša šikar šE-BAR* (ll. 1. 2.), and *ana ki-ri-mu silqātu u šikar šE-BAR* (ll. 11-12). *šikar šE-BAR*, i. e. drink prepared from grain, must certainly mean 'beer.' *silqu*, which occurs in a list of plants and vegetables explained by Meissner (*Z.A.*, vi. pp. 289 ff.) means 'beet,' and corresponds to Aram. סִלְקָא (Z.A., vi. p. 295; T<sup>c</sup> 111). In the passage before us *silqātu* (*si-il-qa-a-tu*) may be simply the fem. pl. of *silqu* (cf. *šumu*, pl. *šumâte*), or, as it occurs here with *šikaru*, it may be the name of a fermented liquor prepared from beet juice. It is difficult to see what objects of leather could have been used in this connection except the skins in which the beer and beet wine (or beets, in which case the skins would be used as bags) were contained. The words *nakrimānu ana kire-ma ša šikar šE-BAR* may therefore be rendered "leather bottles for bottling beer." Meissner (l. c.) compares *kirimmu* 'womb.' Taking into consideration the analogy of *ummu*, the stem כִּרַם might well mean 'to be capacious,' and so 'to contain,' etc. For these reasons I have rendered *karmatūni* 'is bottled,' which suits the context well.

## GLOSSARY.

## כ

*u* (ו, ו) *and*: (1) connecting nouns *ṭūb libbi u ṭūb šīri* *health of mind and body* I, 4-5; (2) connecting verbs *ilu uše-ḡā u ussaxxar* *he will carry the god forth and bring him back* 8, r. 2-3.—Adversative, *but*: *u Ašur . . . urâqāni* *but A. withholds me* 6, 12; *u ina libbi ša* *but because, etc.*, 6, 23.—(HW 1<sup>a</sup>)

*a'ādu* (אעד?).—*to apply, have recourse, to* (properly *to make an appointment*, אעד): *kī tuše'idâ* (*tu-še-i-da*) *when ye applied* 2, 54; *kī uše'iduš* (*u-še-'i-du-uš*) *although he has applied for it* 2, 59.—(HW 230<sup>a</sup>)

*abu* (אב, أب) *father*: *abiya* (AD-ia) *my father* 4, 14; 6, 15; 20, 3. 5; *a-bu-šu* 5, 15, *a-bi-šu* 5, 9. 11, AD-šu 20, 2 *his father*; *axe abišu* (AD-šu) *his uncles* 3, 15.—(W 17; HW 3<sup>a</sup>)

*abāku* (prop. *to turn* = אפק, in which פ is due to a partial assimilation of כ to כ) *to bring, carry off, purchase*.—*ana*

**kaspi ina qâtišu itabkûni** (i-tab-ku-ni) *they purchased from him* I, 27; cf. T<sup>c</sup> 30.—(W 28; HW 6<sup>a</sup>)

**abâlu** (אביל), prt. ûbil, prs. ubbal, *to bring*.—**š** *to send, convey*: 1 pl. nušabila (nu-še-bi-la) 5, r. 13. 24; 3 pl. ušebilûni (u-še-bi-lu-[ni]) 3, r. 14. Prec. 1 sg. lušebilunî-ma (lu-še-bi-lu-nim-ma) 2, 34; lušebil (lu-še-bil) 2, 36; 3 pl. lušebilûni (lu-še-bil-u-ni) 16, r. 4.—**š**<sup>t</sup> *same*, 1 sg. usšabila (u-si-bi-la) 10, r. 4; § 51, 2.—(HW 230<sup>a</sup>)

**ubânu** (אבני), *finger*: ubâni (šū-si) çixirti *the little finger* 14, 23.—(W 41; HW 8<sup>b</sup>)

**ebêru** (עבר), prt. ebir, prs. ibbir, *to cross*.—**et** etêbir (i-te-bir) *he crossed* (the river) 2, 10.—**š** *to convey over, transport*: nušebar (nu-še-[bar]) *we transport* 18, 17; nušebira (nu-še-bi-ra) *let us transport* (cohort.) 18, r. 9.—(W 59; HW 10<sup>b</sup>)

**ebûru** (עבור), *harvest*: ebûru-**meš** 16, r. 10 (where the plural sign merely emphasizes the collective meaning of the noun).—(W 66; HW 11<sup>b</sup>)

**abarakku**, an official title, *grand vizier*: <sup>amel</sup> abarakku (šī-**du**) 18, 7.—(W 68; HW 12<sup>a</sup>)

**agâ** *this, these*, for all genders, numbers, and cases; written a-ga-a 2, 16. 48; 4, 24; 6, 20, etc.; a-ga-ia 2, 26.—(W 76; HW 13<sup>b</sup>)

**igaru** (אגרי), *wall*: pl. igarâte (**e-libit-meš**) 16, 20. r. 6.—(W 105; HW 18<sup>b</sup>)

**egirtu** (אגרת), *letter*: e-gir-tu 4, 36.—(W 103; HW 18<sup>a</sup>)

**idu** (יד), Eth. *šd* *hand*: idâšu (id<sup>3</sup>-šu) *his hands* (preceded by determ. uzū, i. e. šfru) 14, 25. Pl. idâte (i-da-te), but in what sense? 15, 12.—(HW 303<sup>a</sup>)

**adû** (עד, ערי), usually in genit. adî, properly *continuance, duration*.—(1) a-du-u *now*, 3, r. 22.—(2) *during, within*, a-du ûme vii viii ibâlaṭ *he will be well in 7 or 8 days* 14, 31.—(3) *as soon as*, a-di 1, 14.—(4) *until*, a-di 5, r. 13; 7, r. 17; 20, r. 2.—(5) *as far as* (of space) ultu... adî (a-di) *from... to* 2, 49; 3, r. 18-19.—(6) adî(û) lâ (followed by prs.) *before*, a-di lâ 2, 26; a-du-u lâ 19, r. 6-7.—(W 127; HW 22<sup>b</sup>. 24<sup>a</sup>)

**adû** (אדא) prt. ûdî, prs. ûdâ, *to determine, decide*: šarru beli (belu) ûdâ (u-da) *the king shall decide* 7, r. 19; 8, 11; 17, 12; 18, 14.—(HW 232<sup>a</sup>)

**adû** (properly infin. of preceding) *statute, law, compact*: ade (a-di-e) . . . iggabtu *they made terms* 3, 25; kî adî (a-di) *according to compact* I, 23.—(HW 232<sup>b</sup>)

**idû** (ידע), prt. and prs. idî, *to know*.—Prs. 1 sg. mod. rel. idû (i-du-u) 6, 24; 3 pl. idû (i-du-u) 4, 11. Prec. 3 sg. lû idî (i-di) 5, r. 27.—(HW 303<sup>a</sup>)

**adannu** (=adânu, יען?) *time, period*: a-dan-nu ša šulum *the propitious time* 20, r. 1.—(W 135; HW 26<sup>b</sup>)

**adanniš, addanniš** (=ana danniš) *greatly, exceedingly*: a-dan-niš 7, 4; 10, 4; 12, r. 6; 16, r. 9; ad-dan-niš 14, 3. 8. 28; 15, 3. 7.—(W 160; HW 26<sup>b</sup>; Hebraica x. 196).

**adru**, perhaps *enclosure* (ררר): ad-ri ekalli *the palace enclosure* 8, 15. 16. (Cf. adûru *enclosure*, HW 29<sup>b</sup>)

**idâte**, see idu.

**idatûtu**, perhaps *confirmation, ratification*, of a bargain or agreement: ana i-da-tu-tu *to bind the bargain(?)* I, 26. (Cf. T<sup>c</sup> 76, sub יד)

**ezêbu** (עזב), prt. ezib, prs. izzib, *to leave*: Š<sup>t</sup> *to save, rescue*: usezibû (u-si-zi-bu) *they rescued* 7, r. 4.—(§ 51, 2; W 244; HW 34<sup>b</sup>)

**axu** (חא, أخ) *brother*: axiia (šEš-ia) *my brother* 6, 34; axušu (šEš-šu) ša *the brother of* 7, 14; axešu (šEš-MEš-šu) *his brothers* 3, 14; axe (šEš-MEš) abišu *his uncles* 3, 15; mâre axišu (šEš-šu) *his nephews*, 3, 15.—(W 266; HW 38<sup>a</sup>)

**axu**, pl. axâti, *side* (etym. identical with axu *brother*): ana a-xu agâ *on this side* 3, 12; ana a-xi-šu-nu ullî *to their further side* (i. e. *to their rear*) 3, 22-23.—(W 275; HW 39<sup>b</sup>)

**axâ'iš** (properly *like brothers*, axâmiš, cf. šamâmiš) *together*: a-xa-iš 7, 16.—(W 269; HW 39<sup>b</sup>)

**axâmiš** (see axâ'iš) *together, mutually*: ana a-xa-meš *mutually* I, 22; ana tarçi a-xa-meš *opposite each other* 3, r. 23.—(W 270; HW 39<sup>a</sup>)

**axâtu** (אחור) *sister*: mâr axâtiia (NIN-ia) *my nephew* 3, r. 1; mâr axâtišu (NIN-šu) ša *the nephew of* I, 8.—(W 268; HW 39<sup>a</sup>)

**ețêru**, prt. ețir(-er), prs. ițțir(-er), properly *to surround* (עטר), then *to hold, or keep, intact, to receive, buy*: ul i-țir-šu *he has not received it* 2, 60; râmânšu ițțir *he will buy himself off* 2, 41.—(W 325; HW 46<sup>a</sup>; T<sup>c</sup> 36)

**âka** (איכה) *where? whither?*: a-a-ka niškun (cohort.) *where shall we put (it)?* 17, r. 7.—(W 338; HW 48<sup>a</sup>)

**akî** (a-ki-e) *like, as*: 15, 13; cf. kî.—(W 371; HW 52<sup>b</sup>)

**aklu** *food, provisions*: I QA ak-li-šu *one QA of his provisions* 8, r. 8.—(W 381; HW 54<sup>b</sup>)

**akálu** (אכל), prt. ekul, prs. ikkal, *to eat*: líkulû (li-ku-lu) *let them feed* (of sheep) I, 31; ištu... qarḡeka ina pânija ekulu (i-ku-lu) *since he slandered thee* (literally, *ate thy pieces*; cf. qarḡu) *before me* 6, 10.—𐎠<sup>t</sup> same, 3 sg. e-tak-la 7, 16; 3 pl. e-tak-lu 7, 13.—(W 374; HW 53<sup>a</sup>)

**akálu** (properly infin. of preceding) *food*: pl. akâle (šA-MEŠ) 7, 13.—(W 380; HW 54<sup>a</sup>)

**ekallu** (Sumerian E-GAL *great house*; הֵיכַל) *palace*: E-GAL 2, 63; 3, r. 24. 25; 8, 15. 16; 19, 1. r. 5.—(W 338; HW 48<sup>a</sup>)

**ul** (cstr. of ullu *non-existence*) *not, never used in prohibition like* אֵל; I, 41; 2, 60; 4, 26 etc.; *no!* 6, 17.—(HW 71<sup>b</sup>)

**ilu** (אל) *god*: ilu (DINGIR) I, 22; 8, 15. r. 2; iluka (DINGIR-ka) *thy god* 8, 13. Pl. ilâni (DINGIR-MEŠ) 2, 41; 4, 10; 18, 20. r. 1. 10; ilânija (DINGIR-MEŠ-ja) *my gods* 6, 12; ilânika (DINGIR-MEŠ-ka) *thy gods* 14, 24; bît ili *temple* 16, r. 1. 7.—(W 402; HW 59<sup>b</sup>)

**âlu** (ארל), cstr. âl, pl. âlâni, *city*: written ER I, 19. 21; 3, 12. 17; II, 7 etc.—(W 5; HW 59<sup>a</sup>)

**elû** (על), prt. elî, prs. illî, *to be high, ascend*.—𐎠<sup>t</sup> útûlî (u-tu-li) *I removed* (i. e. *took up*) 14, 20.—𐎠<sup>s</sup> ša... ušelâ (u-še-el-la-a) *whoever offers* (to the god, העלה) 8, r. 8.—𐎠<sup>t</sup> çâbe usseli'u (u-si-li-u) *I brought up soldiers* 7, r. 10; usselûni (u-si-lu-ni) *they got* (him) *out* (up) II, r. 2; šumu ili... ultelû (ul-te-lu-u) *they swore by* (made high) *the name of the god* I, 24.—(W 420; HW 60<sup>b</sup>)

**ullû** (cf. אל, אלה) *that, yonder* (ille): axi ul-li-i *the further* (yonder) *side* 3, 23.—(HW 73<sup>b</sup>)

**ilku** *lordship, worship, reverence*: il-ku ana Ezida kun-nâk *I pay heedful reverence to Ezida* 20, 6.—(W 481; HW 70<sup>a</sup>)

**alâku** (הלך), prt. illik, prs. illak, *to go, come*. Prt. sg. • il-li-ku (mod. rel.) 4, 15; pl. il-li-ku-ni 5, 11. 12. Prs. sg. il-lak 8, r. 1; il-la-ka 8, 17. r. 5; pl. il-lak-u-ni 15, r. 3. Prec. sg. lillikâ-ma (lil-li-kam-ma) I, 34; 4, 28.—3 fem. lû ta-li-ik 18, r. 3; lû ta-li-ka 18, r. 6.—1. la-al-lik 8, 14; pl. lil-li-ku-ni 7, r. 15; lillikûnî-ma (lil-li-ku-nim-ma) I, 29; pl. 1. ni-il-lik-ma (cohort.) 4, 30.—𐎠<sup>t</sup> same, sg. it-ta-

lak 15, 11; i-ta-lak 16, r. 9; it-tal-ka 1, 11; 2, 10. 39.—1. at-ta-lak 7, r. 7; at-tal-ka 5, r. 10; pl. i-tal-la-ku 7, 11; it-tal-ku 1, 21; 2, 13; 15, r. 7; it-tal-ku-u-ni 7, 18; it-tal-ku-nu 19, r. 4.—~~š~~ causative. Prec. 3 pl. lu-ša-li-ku 8, r. 21.—(W 461; HW 66<sup>b</sup>)

alpu (אָלפּוּ) *ox*: pl. alpe (GUD-MEŠ) 1, 26.—(HW 75<sup>a</sup>)

elippu (Syr. אֵלִפּוּ) fem. *ship*: written GIŠ-MA 18, 6. 11. r. 1.—(HW 75<sup>a</sup>)

ultu (ul-tu).—(1) Of space, *from, away from, out of* 1, 9. 11; 2, 46; 3, 5; ultu... adī *from... to* 2, 49; 3, r. 18-19.—(2) Of time, ultu muxxi *after, since* 3, 21; 4, 11; ultu U. balṭu *as long as U. was alive* 2, 46 (cf. note *ad loc.*)—(W 411; HW 77<sup>a</sup>)

ûmu (אִיּוֹם, یوم) *day* (written throughout UD + phonetic complement mu, mi): 2, 23; 3, 5; 8, 7. 10; 15, 10—Pl. ûme (UD-MEŠ) 1, 4; 2, 3; 3, 3; 14, 31.—ûmu ša *when* 2, 23; ûmi mûšu *day and night* 13, r. 6; ġât ûme *the end of time* 8, r. 21. (HW 306<sup>b</sup>)

umâ (u-ma-a) *now*: 15, r. 19; 16, r. 2; 18, r. 1.—(HW 82<sup>b</sup>)

ammu (ammû?), pl. ammâte, fem. ammâte, *that (ille)*: lippe am-mu-te *those dressings, bandages* 15, r. 8; dib-bâte(?) ammete (am-me-te) *those (such) things(?)* 18, 16; cf. annetu, fem. pl. of annû, HW 104<sup>a</sup>.—(HW 84<sup>b</sup>)

umma (written um-ma but properly û-ma, i. e. demonstr. û + ma) *namely, as follows*, introducing direct discourse: 1, 23. 28. 36; 2, 14 etc.—(W 208; HW 86<sup>a</sup>)

ummu (אִמּוֹ, אִמּוֹ) *mother*: ummušu (AMA-šu) *his mother* 2, 8.—(HW 85<sup>b</sup>)

emêdu (עִמְדוּ), prt. emid, prs. immid, *to stand, place*.—šumma idâšu ina libbi ummidûni (u-me-du-u-ni) *if he has put his hand to the matter* 14, 26; *the bandages ummudû (u-mu-du) are applied* 15, r. 11.—(HW 79<sup>b</sup>)

ummânu (אִמְנָן) *master workman, skilled artizan*: um-man-ka *thy master workman* 20, r. 5.—(HW 86<sup>b</sup>)

ûmussu (ûmu) *daily*: UD-mu-us-su 4, 5. 16; 5, 4; 20, 4. —(HW 307<sup>a</sup>)

emûqu (אִמְקוּ) *force, forces, troops*: e-mu-qu 2, 16; pl. emuqešu (e-mu-ki-šu) *his forces* 2, 29; 3, r. 21.—(HW 88<sup>b</sup>)

amâru (אִמְרוּ), prt. emur, prs. immar, *to see*: ultu muxxi ša i-mu-ru-ma *after they saw* 3, 21. Prec. li-mur 12, . 2.—1. lûmur (lum-mur) 6, 20.—(HW 89<sup>b</sup>)



ammaru, cstr. ammar, *fulness, as much as*: am-mar qa-qad ubâni *çixirti the size of the tip of the little finger* 14, 22.—(HW 91<sup>a</sup>)

immeru (𐎠𐎢𐎩) *sheep*: išten immeru (LU-NITA) *a single sheep* 1, 38; pl. immereni (LU-NITA-MEŠ-ni) *our sheep* 1, 29.—(HW 91<sup>b</sup>)

amtu (𐎠𐎢𐎩) *female servant, handmaid*: amtuka (GEME?-ka) *thy handmaid* 19, 2.—(HW 77<sup>b</sup>)

amātu, cstr. amât (emû *to speak*).—(1) *word, speech*: a-mat šarri *the word of the king* 6, 1; a-mat-ia *my word* 2, 30.—(2) *thing* (like 𐎠𐎢𐎩, 𐎠𐎢𐎩) a-mat ša *the thing which* 2, 26; *if I learn a-mat ša anything which, etc.,* 2, 60.—(HW 81<sup>b</sup>)

immatema (=ina matema, 𐎠𐎢𐎩) *if ever, in case at any time*: im-ma-tim-ma (i. e. immatéma) 4, 24.—(HW 495<sup>b</sup>)

ana, corresponds in meaning to Heb. 𐤀 and 𐤁; written a-na or DIŠ.—(1) *Of space, to, towards*: ana <sup>1</sup>Targibâti *ittalkû they came to T.* 1, 21; ana <sup>1</sup>Šuxarisungur *towards S.* 2, 13.—(2) *Of time, until*: ana mâr mâre *till (the time of our) children's children* 6, 40.—(3) *As sign of the dative, ūlmu ana greeting to* 7, 5; 9, 4; 10, 3, etc.; ana šarri... liqîšû *may they grant to the king* 3, 4; ana beliĵa likrubû *may they be gracious to my lord*.—(4) *Purpose or object, ana balâṭ nap-šâte ša šarri uĝallû I pray for the king's life* 4, 6; ṭâbu ana alâki *it will be well to go (literally good for going)* 12, r. 4; ana idâtûtu *to bind the bargain* 1, 25; ana maxîri *for sale (price)* 1, 36.—(5) *respecting, in regard to*: ana mimma kalâma *in regard to everything* 20, r. 3.—(6) *in conformity with, ana çibûtu bel šarrâni to the king's liking* 2, 60.—For expressions like ana libbi, ana muxxi, ana pân, etc., see libbu, muxxu, pân, etc.—(HW 94<sup>a</sup>)

ina, corresponds in meaning to Heb. 𐤁; written i-na or RUM.—(1) *Of space, in, at, on, into, from*: ina <sup>1</sup>Xa'âdâlu *in X.* 2, 15; ina Upî'a *at Opis* 18, r. 7; ina kussî ūšibu *seated himself on the throne* 2, 6; addan anâku qâtâ'a ina kib-sâti *I shall lay my hands upon the rascals* 7, r. 8; ina bît Nabû errab *he shall go into the temple of N.* 8, r. 9; ina kuttallišunu *from their side* 2, 20.—(2) *Of time, in, during*: ina timâli *yesterday* 14, 15; 15, r. 5.—ina arax Šabâṭi *in the month of Shebat* 8, r. 16; ina pânâtu *beforehand* 7, 20.—(3) *State or condition, ina puluxti in a state of panic* 2, 16; ina qašti ramîti *with bow unstrung* 2, 42.—(4) *Manner, ina lâ*

mûdânûti *in an unscientific manner* 15, r. 8.—(5) Means, *ina bûbâta tadûkâ ye have slain with famine* 2, 55.—For expressions like *ina libbi*, *ina muxxi*, *ina pânu*, etc., cf. *libbu*, *muxxu*, *pânu*, etc.—(HW 95<sup>a</sup>)

înu (עין, עיני) *eye*: uzû (i. e. šîru)-šî 1, 35; pl. inâšû (šî<sup>2</sup>-šû) *his eyes* 8, 11; cf. *birtu*.—(W 348; HW 49<sup>a</sup>)

enna (ענה, ענה) *now*: adî ša en-na *until now* 5, r. 13.—(HW 103<sup>b</sup>)

annû, fem. annûtu, pl. annûti, fem. annâti, *this (hic)*: fem. an-ni-tu 4, 36, pl. an-nu-te 7, r. 17.—(HW 103<sup>b</sup>)

ennâ (נהנה) *lo! behold!*: en-na 1, 33; 2, 31. 51. 56; 4, 21; 5, r. 7.—(HW 103<sup>b</sup>)

anâku (אנא) *I*: a-na-ku 2, 35; 6, 7. 32; 7, r. 8; 8, 13; 16, 13; ana (איש)-ku 2, 35; 6, 23; 13, r. 6.—(HW 101<sup>a</sup>)

annaka *here*: an-na-ka 19, r. 3; a-na-ka 7, r. 12.—(Cf. PSBA. xvii. 237)

anînu, anîni (אנני), nîni (אני) *we*: a-ni-ni 3, r. 4; ni-i-ni(?) 18, 15.—(HW 103<sup>a</sup>)

unqu, pl. unqâte, *ring, signet*: un-qu 2, 32.—(HW 104<sup>b</sup>)

annûšim *just now, immediately, forthwith*: an-nu-šim 16, 7; 19, r. 3. 9.—(HW 104<sup>a</sup>)

âsû (properly *helper*, prt. of *asû to support*; Syr. אֲסֻן) *physician*: pl. âse (א-ז-מ-עֶשׂ) 16, 5.—(HW 107<sup>a</sup>)

issi (by-form of *itti* with spiration of א, cf. §43, APR. 107, n. 2) *with*: i-si-ia *with me* 7, r. 15; is-si-ka *with thee* 9, r. 8; is-si-šu-nu 19, r. 9; i-si-šu-nu 7, 8. 11. 15; 16, 12, *with them*.—(HW 110<sup>a</sup>)

asâte *reins* (pl. of a noun *asû*): mukil asâte (su-pa-meš) *the charioteer* 8, 21.—(HW 107<sup>b</sup>)

appu (אפ), pl. appê, *nose, face*: ap-pi 14, 13; 15, r. 2. 10.—(HW 104<sup>a</sup>)

aplu, cstr. apil, pl. aple, *son*: Ummanigaš apil (א) Amedirra *U. son of A.* 3, r. 16; apil(א)-šu ša *the son of* 5, 7; apil šipri (א-קין) *messenger* 1, 17. 33.—(HW 113<sup>a</sup>)

epêšu, prt. epuš, prs. ippuš, ippaš.—(1) Transitive, *to do, make, perform*. Prt. 1 pl. nîpušûni (ni-pu-šu-u-ni) 15, 9. Prs. niqû ip-pa-aš *will offer (make) a sacrifice* 8, r. 7; dullu ippušû *are doing duty* 7, r. 21; ša tepušâ (te-pu-ša-') *which ye have done* 6, 35. 36. Prec. parçe ša ilâni... lîpušû *may they perform the commands of the gods* 8, r. 13.—(2) In-

transitive, to do, act, be active; *kî ša ilá'u li-pu-uš let him act as he pleases* 4, 35; *nindema ilâni... ip-pu-šu-ma if the gods will bestir themselves* 2, 42.—**Q**<sup>t</sup> same, *sixu etépuš (i-te-pu-uš) he made a revolt* 3, r. 18; *mimma... bíšu etepšû (i-te-ip-šu) they practiced all that was evil* 5, 14.—**N** Passive, *niqû in-ni-pa-aš a sacrifice will be offered* 8, 19.—**J** to carry on: *elippu... nîburu tuppaš (tu-pa-aš) the ship... is carrying on a ferry* 18, 13; *lû tuppiš (tu-pi-iš) let it carry on* 18, r. 5; *uppušû (u-pu-šu) they are carrying on* 18, r. 14.—(HW 117<sup>a</sup>)

**açû** (אצו, وضو), prt. *ûçî*, prs. *uççâ*, to go out, forth. Prt. 1 sg. *ûçâ (u-çâ-')* 3, 6; pl. *ûçû (u-çu-u)* 5, 9; *ûçûni (u-çu-u-ni)* 15, r. 13. Prs. *uççâ (uç-çâ)* 8, 16.—**Q**<sup>t</sup> same, pl. *ittâçû (i-ta-çu)* 7, r. 2; **N**<sup>t</sup> *ittûçûni (it-tu-çu-u-ni)* 7, 17.—**S** Causative, Prs. *ušeçâ (u-še-çâ-a)* 8, r. 2; pl. *ušeçûni (u-še-çu-u-ni)* 7, r. 18.—(HW 237<sup>a</sup>)

**âru** (אר, إيار), *Iyyar*, the second month of the Babylonian calendar: *arax âru (ITI-GUD)* 8, 7.—(HW 34<sup>b</sup>)

**urû** (ור, אור), *stable*: *u-ru-u ša ilâni the stable of the gods (i. e. the stable for horses used in religious processions, etc.)* 8, 20. (HW 130<sup>a</sup>)

**erêbu** (ערב, عرب), prt. *erub*, prs. *irrub*, *irrab*, to enter: *âmuša... irubu (i-ru-bu) the day he entered* 2, 24; *irrab (ir-rab) he will enter* 8, 9; *irrab (e-rab) he may enter* 8, r. 9; *lîrubû (li-ru-bu) let them go in* 16, 11.—**Q**<sup>t</sup> *ina libbi âli e-tar-ba he came into the city* 11, 8.—**S** Causative, *ilu ušeçâ u ussaxxar u-še-rab he will take the god forth and bring him in again* 8, r. 4; *adû... lâ ušerabanâšina (u-še-rab-na-ši-na) before we are brought in (literally one brings us in)* 19, r. 7.—**S**<sup>t</sup> *puluxti ulteribû (ul-te-ri-bu) they have been invaded by (literally caused to enter) panic* 2, 18.—(HW 126<sup>b</sup>)

**ardu** (written NITA), pl. *ardâni* (written NITA-MEŠ, NITA-MEŠ-ni) *servant, slave*: *ardû'a my servant* 6, 14; *ardûka thy servant* 1, 2; 2, 1; 3, 1; 18, 2, etc.; *ardâni servants* 3, 6. r. 3; 19, 8; *ardânika thy servants* 12, 2; 17, 2.—(HW 129<sup>a</sup>)

**arâdu** (רד, ארד), prt. *ûrid*, prs. *urrad*, to go down, descend.—**S**<sup>t</sup> Causative, *kaspu ina libbi ussérida (u-si-ri-da) wherein he conveyed the money down (the river)* 18, 8; *çâbe usseridûni (u-si-ri-du-ni) akâle the soldiers took provisions down (with them)* 7, 12.—(HW 240<sup>b</sup>)

arxu (ארָח, Eth. *warx*), cstr. arax, *month*: arxu, arax (I TI) 8, 7. r. 16; II, 6; I 7, 13, etc.—(HW 241<sup>b</sup>)

araxsamna (i. e. *eighth month*) *Marcheshvan*, the eighth month of the Babylonian calendar: אַרַאֲסַמְנָא 5, 17. r. 11. 22.—(HW 242<sup>a</sup>)

arku, fem. ariktu, *long* (arâku): ûme arkûti (ar-ku-ti) I 7, 8; GID-DA-MEŠ I 9, 6) *a long life* (literally *long days*).—(HW 133<sup>b</sup>).

arâku (אַרָא), prt. erik, *to be, or become, long*.—Infin. a-ra-ku *prolongation* I, 4; 2, 3; 3, 3.—(HW 133<sup>a</sup>)

arkâniš (from arku rear; אַרָא, אַרָא) *afterwards, later*: ar-ka-niš 5, 14.—(HW 243<sup>a</sup>).

eršu (עֲרִישׁ) *bed, couch*: eršu (GIŠ-NA) ša Nabû *the couch of N.* 8, 8; bit erši (E-GIŠ-NA) *bed-chamber* 8, 9.—(HW 141<sup>a</sup>)

ašâbu (אַשְׁבִּי for אֲשַׁב), prt. ûšib, prs. uššab, *to sit, dwell*: ša... ina kussî u-ši-i-bu (pause form) *who seated himself upon the throne* 2, 6; nu-uš-šab *we will dwell* 2, 15; partic. âšib (a-šib) *inhabitants* (collective) 4, 25.—X<sup>t</sup> *same*, it-tu-šib (i. e. ittûšib = intaušib) 15, 13.—S<sup>t</sup> *Causative*, šubtu ussešibu (u-si-ši-bu) *he had laid an ambush* 7, 21.—(HW 244<sup>a</sup>)

išdu (אִשְׁדָּה, אִשְׁדָּה) *foundation*: iš-du ša bit abiya *the prop and stay of my father's house* 6, 15.—(HW 142<sup>b</sup>)

ištu, written TA.—(1) Of space, *from*: ištu Deri issapra *he sends word from Der* I 6, 18; ištu pâni dâme uqûni *the blood flows forth in spite of* (literally *from before*) the bandages 15, r. 12.—(2) Of time, *since*: ištu Šamaš libbašu issuxa *since S. perverted his understanding* 6, 8.—(HW 152<sup>a</sup>)

aššatu (אִשְׁתִּי, اُنْتِ) *woman, wife*: aššatsu (DAM-šu) *his wife* 2, 8.—(HW 106<sup>a</sup>)

išten (אִשְׁתִּי) *one, a single, a certain* (quispam): written I-en; išten muššarû *one inscription* I 6, r. 3; išten immeru *a single sheep* I, 38; išten qallu *a certain servant* 5, r. 7.—(HW 153<sup>a</sup>)

atâ (properly impv. of atû *to see*) *well, now, see!*: [umâ a-ta]-a *now, see now!* 18, r. 1.—(HW 156<sup>b</sup>)

atta (אַתָּה, اَنْتَ) *thou*: at-ta 6, 33.—(HW 160<sup>a</sup>)

itti (properly genit. of ittu *side*, fem. of idu *hand*) *with*: it-ti 2, 19; 3, 25; it-ti-šu-nu *with them* 2, 25; it-ti U.

ušazgúšu *they withhold it from U.* (like 𐎠𐎢𐎽) 2, 58.—(HW 154<sup>b</sup>).—Compare issi.

itu'u, an official title: <sup>amēl</sup>itu-'-u 7, r. 11; <sup>amēl</sup>Šanū i-tu-' K. 1359, Col. II, 11 (PSBA, May, '89).—(HW 157<sup>a</sup>)

etēqu (עֲתָק), prt. etiq, prs. ittiq, *to pass.* Inf. e-te-qa *route* (of procession) 8, r. 5.—(HW 159<sup>a</sup>)

atāru (וְתָר = וְתָר) *to exceed, surpass.*—**Ṣ** causative, *to increase:* ut-tir remu aškunáka *I have granted thee greater favor* (than ever) 6, 24.—(HW 248<sup>a</sup>).

## ב

bá'u (בֹּא), prt. and prs. ibá, *to come:* apil šipri ibášu (i-ba-aš-šu) *a messenger has come to him* 1, 17.—(HW 167<sup>b</sup>)

bābu (Aram. ܒܒܐ, باب, reduplicated form from ܒܘܐ) *gate; part, portion:* bābšu (κΑ-šu) *his portion* 2, 47; cf. T<sup>c</sup> 56<sup>b</sup>.—(HW 165<sup>b</sup>)

būbātu *famine, hunger:* bu-ba-a-ta 2, 55.—plur. of būbātu (properly *emptiness:* reduplicated form from ܒܘܪܘ) *famine, hunger:* bu-bu-u-ti 6, 27.—(HW 166<sup>a</sup>)

bādu (cf. ܒܘܕܬܐ ܫܡܫܝܫ) *sunset, evening(?)*: ina timāli kī ba-di *yesterday evening* 14, 16; 15, r. 5.—Cf. the following, from Harper's Letters: ūmu vi ana ba-a-di egirtušu anntu ina muxxiia issapra *he sent me this letter the evening of the 6th* (of the month) H. 101, 11; ina ši'ari ša ba-a-di ri-in-ku ina <sup>al</sup>Tarbiçi *to-morrow evening there will be a libation in T.* H. 47, 7; ina ši'ari ūmu iv ana ba-a-di Nabū Tašmetu<sup>m</sup> ina bīt erši irrubū *to-morrow, the 4th, at sunset, Nabū and Tašmet will enter the bed-chamber* H. 366, 6; sise ana ba-a-di lušaqbī sise lušaçbitu *I will stable the horses this evening and assign them quarters* (for lušaqbī, cf. qabū *stable, pen*, HW 578<sup>b</sup>; for šuçbutu *to station, place*, cf. HW 562<sup>a</sup>). Cf. Hebraica, x. 196; AJSL, xiv. 16.

bīd (synonym of kī) *as, like:* bi-id šarru išápar *as the king commands* (sends) 16, 16; ultu bīd ana Elamti... ūçú *since they went away to Elam* 5, 8; ultu bīd... nuše-bila *since we sent* 5, r. 11.—(HW 190<sup>a</sup>)

belu (בַּעַל) *lord:* belú'a (EN-a) 4, 7. 21; beliia (EN-ia) 4, 7. 33. (be-ili-ia) 1, 1. 6, belf (be-ili) *my lord;* belika (EN-ka) 6, 28, (EN-ka-a) 6, 18 *thy lord;* belišu (EN-šu) 6, 31 *his lord;* beluni (EN-ni) 12, 11. r. 2, belini (EN-ni) 12,

1. 6. 8 (𐎠𐎢-*i-ni*) 17, 6. 11. r. 3, *our lord*; *bel* (𐎠𐎢) *šarrâni the lord of kings* I, 1. 5.—(HW 163<sup>a</sup>)

*balû* *to worship, be submissive*: *immatema... ul ibalû* (*i-ba-lu*) *if they will not submit* 4, 26.—(HW 173<sup>b</sup>)

*balâtu* (בלט, מלט) *properly survive*; cf. (חיה), prt. *ibluṭ*, prs. *ibáluṭ*, once *ibálaṭ*, *to live*; *to recover from illness*: *ibá-laṭ* (*i-ba-laṭ*) *he will recover* 14, 31; *balṭu* (*bal-ṭu*) *he was alive* 2, 46; *ina libbi balṭû* (*bal-ṭu*) *they live (subsist) upon it* 2, 45.—𐎢 ul *u-bal-laṭ-ka* *I will not let thee live* I, 41; *ana bulluṭ* (*bu-luṭ*) *napšâte for the preservation of the life of* 8, r. 11.—(HW 174<sup>b</sup>)

*balâtu* (*properly infin. of preceding*) *life*: [*ba-laṭ*] *napišti* 13, r. 1. 2; *balâṭ* (𐎢𐎢) *napšâte life, preservation* 4, 6; 5, 6; 20, 5; *lale balâṭi* (𐎢𐎢) *fullness, enjoyment, of life* 10, 10.—(HW 175<sup>a</sup>)

*beltu* (*fem. of belu*), pl. *belêti, lady*: *belit* (𐎢𐎢) *Kidimuri the lady of K.* 10, 6.—(HW 163<sup>b</sup>)

*banû* (בני), prt. *ibnî*, prs. *ibánî*, *to make, build, beget*: *bânû* (*properly participle*) *ancestor*; *mâre bânûti* (𐎢𐎢𐎢𐎢) *free-born citizens, nobles (properly sons of ancestors)* 3, 16.—(HW 178<sup>b</sup>)

*banû* *bright, honorable, excellent*: *ban* (*ba-an*) *ša tepušâ the excellent (service) that ye have done* (*cstr. before ša*) 6, 36; *ša ina pâniia banû* (*ban-u*) *which is honorable in my sight* 6, 39.—(HW 180<sup>a</sup>)

**BAR** a measure of some kind, 2, 56.

*bûru* (באר, בור) *well, cistern*: *ina bûri* (𐎢𐎢) *ittuqut he fell into a well* 11, r. 1.—(HW 164<sup>b</sup>)

*barû*, prt. *ibrî*, prs. *ibári*, *to see*.—𐎢 Causative, *lâ ubarrî* (*u-bar-ri*) *I have not disclosed* 16, 14.—(HW 182<sup>a</sup>)

*bîrtu* (*barû*) *glance, sight*: *bîrit inî* *clear, plain sight*; *ina bîrit* (*bi-rit*) *fui lumandid let him make it clearly understood (literally measure out in plain view)* 1, 34.—(HW 183<sup>a</sup>)

*bîrtu* (בירה) *fortress, castle*: *šulmu ana* <sup>al</sup> *bîrât* (*bi-rat*) *greeting to the fortresses* 7, 5; *bir-ti-šu* *the (literally his) fortress* (ZA. ii. 321) 7, r. 10.—(HW 185<sup>a</sup>)

*bîšu* (כאש) *bad, evil*: *bi-i-šu* 5, 13; *dibbeka bîšûtu* (*bi-šu-u-tu*) *evil words about thee* (cf. רבבם רעה, Gen. xxxvii. 2) 6, 6.—(HW 165<sup>a</sup>)

*bašû* (*properly ba+šu in him*; cf. Eth. *bô, bôṭá*), prt. *ibšî*, prs. *ibášî*, *to be, exist*.—Prs. sg. *i-ba-aš-ši* 14, 22; *i-ba-aš-*

šu-u-ni (mod. rel.) 8, r. 7; pl. i-ba-aš-šu-u 2, 12; 3, r. 5; ibaši'u (i-ba-ši-u) 15, r. 9.—(HW 188<sup>a</sup>)

bītu (בֵּית), pl. bītâte, written 𐎠, 𐎠-𐎠𐎠, *house*; with reference to gods, *temple*: bīt Marduk-erba *the house of M-e.* 19, r. 6; ina bīti *in the house of* 9, r. 4; rab-bīti *major-domo* 2, 52; bīt ili *temple* 16, r. 1. 7; ilu mâr bīti *the god of the temple* 20, 10; bīt Nabû *the temple of N.* 8, 12. r. 9; bītâte karâni *store-houses for wine* 17, r. 1.—(HW 171<sup>b</sup>)

bitxallu *riding horse*: pl. bitxallâti, <sup>amē</sup>ša bit-xal-lati *the cavalry* 7, r. 22; cf. Hebraica, x. 109, 198.—(HW 190<sup>b</sup>)

ג

gabbu (usually in genit. gabbī) *totality, all, every*: generally placed after, and in apposition to, the word qualified; maççarâte gab-bu *all the guards* 10, r. 6; qinnašu gab-bi *his whole family* 2, 8; mâtsunu gab-bi *their whole country*; bel ʔâbâtešu gab-bi *all his partizans* 2, 24; šarnuppi gab-bi *every šarnuppu* 2, 51; agâ gab-bi *all these parts, this country* (literally *all this*) 2, 16.—(HW 192<sup>a</sup>)

gamâru (גָּמַר), prt. igmur, prs. igâmar, *to complete, to pay*: tapšuru igâmar-ma (i-gam-mar-ma) *he will pay a ransom* 2, 40.—(HW 199<sup>b</sup>)

gušûru (gašâru *to make strong*) *beam, timber*: pl. gušûre (giš-gušûr-𐎠𐎠) annûte *this timber* (literally *these beams*) 7, r. 17.—(HW 207<sup>a</sup>)

ד

de'u (דַּעַי) *disease, plague*: kîma de'i (di-e) xurrurû *they are ravaged as though (by) a plague* 2, 17.—(HW 297<sup>a</sup>)

dibbu (דִּבְבָּ), pl. dibbe, *word, speech*: dibbušu (dib-bu-šu) *his word* 20, r. 4; pl. dib-be (dib-bi) agâ *these words* 5, r. 15; dibbe ka'âmânûtu *reliable words* 1, 41; dibbeka (dib-bi-ka) bîšûtu *evil words about thee* (cf. bîšu) 6, 5; dibbâte (?) ammete (?) (dib?-ba-te am-me-te?) *these things, such matters(?)* (cf. דִּבְרָ, אִמֶּר, *thing*) 18, 16.—(HW 209<sup>b</sup>)

dabâbu, prt. idbub, prs. idâbub, *to speak, converse*: is-sišunu lidbubu (lid-bu-bu) *let him converse with them* 16, 12.—<sup>Q</sup> same, iddêbub (id-di-bu-ub) 2, 25; cf. dînu.—(HW 208<sup>b</sup>)

**dâku**, prt. idûk, prs. idâk, *to kill*: šuxdû-ma... lâ a-du-ku *not willingly would I have slain* 6, 16; tadûkâ (ta-du-ka) *ye have slain* 2, 23; idûkû (i-du-ku) *they slew* II, r. 3; dûkâ (du-u-ka) *slay ye!* 3, 10.—Infin. dâku, ana mux-xi dâkika (GAZ-ka) ilmû *they have planned thy destruction* 6, 22; ana dâki (GAZ) iddinûka *they have given thee over to death* 6, 11; ina pâni da-a-ku ša axiija *in order to slay my brother* 4, 15.—<sup>Q</sup> same, iddûkû (id-du-ku) *they slew* 3, 17; taddûkâ (ta-ad-du-ka) *ye have slain* 2, 56.—(HW 212<sup>a</sup>)

**dîktu** *slaughter, slaying*: di-ik-ti dûkâ *slay ye!* 3, 10.—(HW 212<sup>b</sup>)

**dîkitu** (*Nisbeh* form) *troop of soldiers(?)*: ina qât di-ki-tu *accompanied by a troop* 2, 38.

**dullu** (dalâlu *to serve*; ללל *to be poor, dependent*) *work, duty, service*: dul-lu 6, 33; 7, r. 21; 15, 8.—(HW 219<sup>b</sup>)

**dalâpu** (دلפ) *to go*: adâlap (a-dal-lap) *I will go* 4, 22.—(HW 217<sup>b</sup> below)

**dâmu** (DM) *blood*: pl. dâme (UŠ-MEŠ) 15, r. 2. 6. 13. 17.—(HW 220<sup>a</sup>)

**dînu** (DIN) *judgment, cause*: di-i-ni ittišunu iddebub *he upbraided them (literally plead a cause with them)* 2, 25.—(HW 215<sup>b</sup>)

**duppu** (Syr. ܕܦܦ) *tablet, letter*: duppu (IM) Bel-upâq *letter of B.-u.* 20, 1.—(HW 226<sup>a</sup>)

**dupšarru** (Sumerian DUB tablet + SAR *to write*) *scribe, secretary*: dupšar (A-BA) mâti *the secretary of state* 9, 1; dupšar (A-BA) ekalli *the secretary of the palace* 19, 1. r. 5.—(HW 227<sup>b</sup>)—Cf. note on 9, 1, p. 47.

**dequ**, prt. idqî, prs. idaqî, *to gather, collect*: qaštašunu... idqû (id-ku-u) *they assembled their forces* 3, r. 5; ebûru deqî (di-e-qi) *the harvest is gathered* 16, r. 10.—(HW 216<sup>a</sup>, sub ܕܩܝ)

**dârû** (*Nisbeh* of dâru, דרר *to endure*), *enduring, everlasting*: šanâte dârâte *never ending years* 17, 9.—(HW 213<sup>a</sup>)

†

**zagû**, perhaps *to stand*.—<sup>Q</sup> ušazgûšu (u-ša-az-gu-u-šu) *they withhold it* (i. e. cause to stop) 2, 59; dînâtu attû'a... u-ša-az-gu-u *I have established* (i. e. caused to stand firm) *my rights*, Behistun (III R. 39) 9.—(HW 260<sup>a</sup>, sub ܕܐܓܘ)



zilliru (zi-il-li-ru) an Elamite official title 2, 11.—(HW 256<sup>b</sup>)

zîmu (𐎶𐎠) Dan. ii. 31, v. 6; properly, *brightness* *face, form, appearance*: zîmišu (zi-me-šu) malû *his complete health* (literally *full form*) I, 14.—(HW 252<sup>b</sup>)

zunnu *rain*; written A-AN-MEŠ I6, r. 8, where the plural sign (MEŠ) has merely a collective force.—(HW 259<sup>b</sup>)

𐎶 (خ)

xi'lānu, xiialānu *troops*: xi-'-la-a-nu 4, 8; xi-ia-lani-ia *my troops* 3, 22.—(HW 275<sup>a</sup>)

xubtu *booty, prisoners* (cf. xabātu): xubte (xu-ub-ti) CL ixtabtûni *they captured 150 prisoners* 3, 18-19.—(HW 269<sup>a</sup>)

xabātu, prt. ixbut, *to plunder, take prisoner*: impv. plur. xubtu xubtānu (xu-ub-ta-a-nu) *take prisoners!* (= xubtāni) 3, 11.—<sup>Q</sup> ixtabtûni (ix-tab-tu-ni) *they captured* 3, 19.—(HW 268<sup>b</sup>)

xadû (𐎶𐎶𐎶 *pleasure*), prt. ixdû, ixdi, *to rejoice, be glad*. Stem of šuxdû q. v.

xazānu (𐎶𐎶𐎶) *prefect, superior*: xa-za-nu ša bit Nabû *the prefect of the temple of N.* 8, 12.—(HW 272<sup>a</sup>)

xakāmu, prs. ixákim, *to understand*.—<sup>S</sup> lušaxkim (lušax-ki-im) *I will give directions, explain* I5, r. 19.—(HW 276<sup>a</sup>)

xalqu *fugitive, deserter*: pl. xalqûte (x-a-a-meš) 7, 9; xal-qu H. 245, 11; xal-qu-te H. 245, 5. r. 11.

xalāqu (Eth. *xalqa*), prt. ixliq, prs. ixáliq, *to flee*: kí ix-li-qu *when he fled* I, 10; ša ix-li-qa *who fled* 2, 5; adî lâ axáliqa (a-xal-li-qa) *before I fled* 2, 26.—(HW 279<sup>b</sup>)

xamaṭṭa (xamadda) *help, aid*: xa-maṭ-ṭa 8, r. 17.—(HW 281<sup>a</sup>, sub xamât)

xannû, xanni'u (= annû) *this*: lakû sikru xa-ni-u *this poor fellow* I4, 10.—The following additional examples are taken from Harper's Letters: xa-an-ni-i H. 19, r. 12; H. 306, 10; H. 357, r. 10; xa-an-ni-e H. 355, 15; xa-ni-e H. 311, 13; xa-an-ni-ma H. 358, 29. r. 17; xa-an-nim-ma H. 362, r. 1.—Pl. xa-nu-u-te H. 121, 8; xa-nu-te H. 99, 6; H. 121, r. 10; xa-an-nu-ti H. 306, 5. r. 7.—(HW 284<sup>a</sup>)

xasāsu, prt. ixšas, prs. ixásas, *to think, perceive, understand*: *if the king lâ xassu (xa-as-su) does not understand* 5, r. 24.—<sup>Q</sup> kí amât . . . ax-tas-su *when I learn anything* 2,

61.—𐤊 xussu (xu-us-su) *he is well informed* 20, r. 6.—For these syncopated forms cf. § 97.—(HW 284<sup>b</sup>)

xepû, prt. ixpî, prs. ixápî, *to destroy*: ultu muxxi... bît abiia ixpû (ix-pu-u) *since he destroyed my father's house* 4, 14.—(HW 286<sup>a</sup>)

xarâdu, prs. ixárid.—𐤎 ix-te-ri-di 15, 11.—(HW 289<sup>a</sup>)

xarâçu (𐤆𐤏𐤃) properly *to cut*, then *to decide, fix, establish*: xarâçu (xa-ra-çu) ša dibbe agâ *confirmation of these words* 5, r. 14; řenšunu xariç (xa-ri-iç) *he has accurate news of them* 3, r. 25.—(HW 292<sup>a</sup>, sub xariçu)

xarâru, prs. ixárar, *to plow*.—𐤊 xurrurû (xur-ru-ru) *they are ravaged* (literally *plowed up*).—(HW 292<sup>a</sup>)

ט

řa'ábu (d, p? طبع?), prt. iř'ib, *to oppress* (?).—𐤊 nax-naxûtu u-řa-u-bu *they oppress, interfere with, the breathing* 15, r. 12.—(HW 722<sup>a</sup>, sub (𐤆?)𐤏𐤃)

řábu (طاب, يطيب), prt. iřib, prs. iřáb, *to be good, well*: řa-a-ba ana alâki *the conditions are favorable for the journey* (literally, *it is good for going*) 12, r. 3. 4. 5. 7; libbaka... lû-řa-a-ba *may thy heart be of good cheer* 9, r. 3; lû-řa-ab-ka 6, 3; libbu ša šarri... lû řa-a-ba 14, 30; lû DUG-GA 16, r. 12; libbu ša mûr šarri... lâ řábšû (DUG-GA-šû) 10, r. 8.—(HW 299<sup>b</sup>)

řûbu (𐤏𐤁) *good, welfare*: řûb(i) libbi u řûb(i) šîri(e) *health of mind and body* (řu-ub) 1, 4. 5; 10, 8. 9; 19, 6. 7; (DUG-ub) 14, 6; 15, 5. 6; (řu-bi) 2, 2; 3, 2. 3.—(HW 300<sup>b</sup> reads řub and explains as cstr. of řubbu infin. 𐤊 of řábu)

řábtu, pl. řábâte, *benefit, kindness*: řábâte (MUN-XI-A) *favours* 6, 39; bel řábâte (EN MUN-XI-A-MEŠ) *partizans, friends* 2, 12. 24. 47.—(HW 301<sup>a</sup>)

řebêtu, *Tebeth*, the tenth month of the Babylonian calendar; written 1TI-AB 17, 13.—(HW 298<sup>b</sup>)

řemu (𐤏𐤅) *news, information*: ře-e-mu 1, 24; 2, 4; 3, r. 15; řenšunu (ře-en-šu-nu) *news about them* 3, r. 24.—(HW 297<sup>a</sup>; cf. Guthe's *Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 35)

י

řânu (𐤏𐤏) *not*: řânû (ia-'-nu-u, i. e. řânu + interrog. enclitic u) *is it not so?* 6, 25.—(HW 49<sup>a</sup>)

**iāši me:** šulmu ia-a-ši *it is well with (as to) me* 6, 2.—(HW 51<sup>b</sup>)

**iātu mine:** elippu šī ia-a-tu *that ship of mine* 18, 6; ia-a-tu lū tallika *let mine (i. e. my ship) go* 18, r. 6.

כ

**KU** (?) 1, 26.

**kī** (כ, כִּי), written ki-i, ki.—(1) Preposition, *as, like, according to*: kī adī *according to compact* 1, 23.—(2) Conjunction; (a) *when*, kī... ittalka *when he arrives* 2, 38; kī iqbatu *when he received* 2, 47; kī itbū *when they reached* 3, 13; kī iplaxū *having become afraid* 3, 24; kī upaxxir *having assembled* 2, 24; cf. also 1, 9. 12; 2, 7. 9. 51. 54; 5, 12. 15. 19; 20, 12;—(b) *if*, kī... taltapra *if thou sendest* 1, 36; kī... gibū *if he wishes* 5, r. 14; kī... maxru *if it be agreeable* 2, 31; 4, 26; kī... axtassu *if I learn* 2, 60; kī ša... lā xassu *if he does not understand* 5, r. 21-24;—(c) *that*, idū kī *they know that* 4, 11;—(d) *as, since*, kī... karmatūni *since it is bottled*;—(e) *although*, kī uše'iduš *although he has applied for it* 2, 59.—(3) Adverb, kī ša šaṭrā *just as they (the letters) were written* 5, r. 20; kī... kī *now... again (literally thus... thus, introducing direct discourse; cf. note ad loc.)* 2, 14-15.—(HW 325<sup>b</sup>)

**ka'amānu** (1) Adjective, *steadfast, reliable*: pl. dibbe ka'amānūtu (ka-a-a-ma-nu-tu) *reliable words* 1, 41.—(2) Adverb, libbaka ka-a-a-ma-ni lū ṭāba *may thy heart ever be of good cheer* 9, r. 2.—(HW 321<sup>b</sup>)

**kibistu** (kabāsu, כַּבְּסוּ; properly, *trampling*, what is trampled under foot; cf. sikiptu) *base fellow, rascal*: addan anāku qâtâ'a ina kibsâte (kib-sa-ti) *I will lay my hands upon the rascals* 7, r. 8.

**kādu** *military post, garrison(?)*: ka-a-du 3, 8. r. 2. 12.—(HW 725<sup>a</sup>)

**kālu** (כֹּלֵל), prt. ikūl, *to hold, bear*.—𐎧 part. mukl (mu-kil) *asâte charioteer (literally holder of the reins)* 8, 21.—𐎧<sup>t</sup> uktil (uk-ti-il) 15, 12.—(HW 319<sup>b</sup>)

**kalū** (כַּלְלֵי), prt. iklū, iklā, prs. ikālū, *to check, restrain*.—𐎠 dāme ikkali'u (ik-ka-li-u) *the hemorrhage will be checked* 15, r. 17.—(HW 328<sup>a</sup>)

**kalbu** (כַּלְבֵּי) *dog*: kal-bi 2, 62.—(HW 328<sup>b</sup>)

**kilāle** (כַּלְאֵי, Eth. *kəl'ē*) *both*: rabe-qigiriā kilāle (ki-la-le) *both my chiefs of battalion* 7, r. 4.—(HW 331<sup>b</sup>)



**kûru** (for kur'u; Syr. **כַּרְרָה** *to fall ill*) *distress, trouble*: ša kûri (ku-ri) inâšu *his eyes are diseased* (ša like **כַּרְרָה**; cf. BA. i. 384 below) 14, 11.—(HW 352<sup>b</sup>)

**kirû** *grove*: kirû (GIŠ-SAR) ša Ašur *the (sacred) grove of Ašur* II, 9; k. ša Nabû *of Nabû* 8, 7.—(HW 353<sup>a</sup>)

**karābu**, prt. ikrub, prs. ikárab, *to be gracious to, bless*: ana šarri likrubû (lik-ru-bu) *may they bless, be gracious to, the king* 4, 4; 5, 4; II, 5; 12, 9; 13, 8; 18, 5; 19, 6; lik-ru-bu-šu *may they bless him* 12, 15.—(HW 350<sup>a</sup>)

**karābu**; ul kir-bi-ku-ma (1 sing. permans. like gixriku?) 2, 61; cf. ul kir-bi-ka H. 202, 7.

**karāmu** *to bottle*: 3 fem. permans. kar-ma-tu-u-ni *is bottled* 17, 14; cf. note ad loc.

**kurummatu** *provisions, food*: pl. kurummâtani (šUK-XI-A-a-ni) 2, 54, 57; kurummâtîni (šUK-XI-A-i-ni) 2, 53 *our provisions*.—(HW 354<sup>b</sup>)

**karānu** *wine*: written GIŠ-GEŠ-TIN 17, r. 6; bitâte karāni (E-GEŠ-TIN-MEŠ) *store-houses for wine* 17, r. 1.—(HW 354<sup>b</sup>)

**karāru** (modern Arabic **كَّرَّ** *to purify*) *to sanctify, consecrate*: *the city of Calah* eršu ša Nabû tak-kar-ra-ar *will consecrate the couch of Nabû*.—Cf. the liturgical text K. 164 (BA. ii. 635), ll. 15. 32. 47.

**kettu** (properly feminine of kenu; **כֶּת**) *truth*: ki-e-tu 16, 13.—(HW 323<sup>a</sup>)

**kutallu** (**כַּתַּל**, Cant. ii. 19; Aram. **כַּתַּל**, Dan. v. 5; **כַּתְּלִיא**, Ezr. v. 8, *wall*) *side*: ina ku-tal-li-šu-nu *from their side* 2, 20.—(HW 362<sup>a</sup>)

### ל

**lâ** (**לָ**) *not*: 2, 26. 29. 65; 4, 16; 16, 14. 15; 19, r. 7, etc.—(HW 363<sup>a</sup>)

**lû** (**ל**, **ל**; cf. Haupt in JHU. Circ., xiii., No. 114, 107, July '94). (1) *Asseverative particle, verily, indeed*: lû idû *verily they know* 4, 11.—(2) *Precative particle*, lû šulmu ana *greeting to* 7, 3; 8, 3; 10, 3, etc.; lû tallik *let it (the ship) come* 17, r. 3; šar-ru lû idî *may the king know* 5, r. 27; libbaka lû řābka *may thy heart be of good cheer* 6, 3.—(HW 373<sup>b</sup>)

**la'û** (**لِ**), prs. ilá'î, ilé'î: kî ša i-la-'u *as he pleases* 4, 34; kî ša a-li-'-u-' *as I please* H. 402, r. 5.—(HW 364<sup>b</sup>)

libbu (לב, לִבָּב), written lib-bu (bi, ba), šA, šA-bi(ba, bu).—(1) *heart, mind*: libbaka lû tábka *may thy heart be of good cheer* 6, 3 (cf. tábū, túb libbi túb šíri, cf. túbū); ištu Šamaš libbašu issuxa *since Šamaš perverted his understanding* 6, 8.—(2) *middle, midst*, and in this sense used with the prepositions ina, ana; ina libbi *in, among* 1, 30; 2, 2; 5, 17; 18, 7; ina libbi Upi'a *at Opis* 18, 12; ina libbi *from, out of* 8, 15; ina libbi balṭū *they live upon it* 2, 45; ina libbi *in order that* 1, 31; ina libbi ša *because* 6, 23; ana libbi ša ana *until* 6, 40.—(HW 367<sup>a</sup>)

libbû (= ina libbi); libbû (šA-bu-u) agâ *through, by means of, this (measure)* 4, 24.—(HW 368<sup>a</sup>)

labāru, prt. ilbur, prs. ilábir *to be, to become, old*: infin. labār (la-bar) *pale length of reign* 2, 3; 3, 3.—(HW 370<sup>b</sup>)

lakû *weak, miserable*: la-ku-u 14, 9.—(HW 376<sup>b</sup>)

lalû *fulness, abundance*: lal-e balâṭi *fulness, enjoyment of life* 10, 10.—(HW 377<sup>a</sup>)

lamû, prt. ilmî, *to surround, enclose, catch*: kí il-mu-u-ni *when they have caught* 2, 51; ana muxxi dâkika il-mu-u *they have plotted (tried to encompass) thy destruction* 6, 22.—(HW 379<sup>a</sup>)

lippu (لِپُّ) *to wind, wrap up* bandage, dressing: pl. lippe (li-ip-pi) 15, r. 7.

lašū (= lâ + išū, 𐎢) *there is not, there are not*: mušša-râne la-aš-šū *there are no inscriptions* 16, 20; gillâte la-aš-šū *there are no shelters* 17, r. 1.—(HW 386<sup>a</sup>)

## 𐎠

ma, enclitic particle; draws the accent to the ultima of the word to which it is appended.—(1) Emphatic particle, minû iqabûnî-ma *what, indeed, can they say* 6, 30; šuxdû-ma . . . lâ adûku *not willingly, indeed, could I have slain* 6, 14; nin-déma ilâni . . . ippušû-ma *if only the gods will bestir themselves* 2, 42; šûtû-ma *that (god) indeed* (here like 𐎠 in apodosis of conditional clause) 14, 26; belijâ-ma *my lord* 5, 6; ilânî-ma *the gods* 8, r. 1; emurû-ma *they saw* 3, 21.—(2) As conjunction, *and*; lillikâ-ma *let him come and* 1, 34; ša itûrâ-ma *who returned and* 2, 6; išemî-ma *he will hear and* 2, 40, etc.—(HW 386<sup>a</sup>; 387<sup>a</sup>)

**má** *thus, as follows*; serves (like *umma*) to introduce direct discourse: *ma-a* 7, r. 6; 15, r. 4; 16, 19; 19, r. 5. 6.—(HW 387<sup>b</sup>)

**ma'adu** *abundance, profusion*: *dame ma-'a-du much blood* (literally *blood a profusion*) 15, r. 6; *zunnu ma'ada (ma-'a-da) much rain* 16, r. 8.—(HW 389<sup>b</sup>)

**ma'ádu** (𐎠𐎢𐎠), prt. *im'id*, prs. *imá'id*, *to be much, numerous, abundant*: permans. *ma'ada (ma-'a-da) it is abundant* 17, r. 7.—(HW 388<sup>a</sup>)

**MU-GA**, apparently an ideogram, 6, 39.

**MU-GI**, *rab mu-gi the chief m.*, an official title, 15, r. 3.

**madádu** (𐎠𐎢𐎠), prt. *imdud*, prs. *imandad*, *to measure*.—𐎠 lumandid (*lu-man-di-id*) *let him measure out* (cf. *biru*) 1, 35.—(HW 393<sup>b</sup>)

**mûdânûtu** *science* (abstract of *mûdânu*, a formation in *-ân* (§ 65, No. 35) from *mûdû wise*, 𐎠𐎢𐎠): *ina lâ mûdânûte (mu-da-nu-te) unscientifically* (literally *without science*) 15, r. 8.

**muxxu** properly *top, summit* (Sumerian *mux*), written *mux-xi, mux*. Usually combined with the prepositions *ina, ana, ultu*.—(1) *ina muxxi*; (a) *upon, over*: *ina muxxi (mux) naxnaxête ša appi upon, over, the nostrils* 15, r. 9; *ina muxxi (mux) kâdu over* (in command of) *the post* 3, r. 2. 12; *ina muxxi (mux) bit belika ul tašdud thou hast not brought* (foe and famine) *upon thy lord's house* 6, 28.—(b) *against*: *minû iqabûni-ma ina muxxi (mux) ardu ša what can they say against a servant who*, etc. 6, 30.—(c) *to*: *ittalkûnu ina mux-xi-ja they have come to me* 19, r. 4.—(d) *as to, in regard to*: 6, 4. 33; 12, 10; 15, r. 1.—(e) *for*: soldiers are sent *ina muxxi (mux) xalqûte for, after, deserters* 7, 9; *ina mux-xi napsâte ša beliija uçallâ I pray for my lord's life* 13, r. 7.—(2) *ana muxxi*; (a) *towards, against*: *ina libbi ana mux-xi-ni taráxuç that you may feel confidence in* (towards) *us* 1, 32; *emûqešu ana mux-xi-i-ni lâ išápar that he may not send his troops against us* 2, 29; *šixa ana muxxi (mux) U. a rebellion against U.* 3, r. 17.—(b) *to, as far as*: *ana muxxi (mux) <sup>al</sup>Irgidû... ki itbû when they reached Irgidu* 3, 11.—(c) *as to, in regard to*: 2, 33; 20, 11.—(d) *for*: *ana muxxi (mux) kurummâtini for our provisions* (ye applied) 2, 53; *ana muxxi (mux) dâkika ilmû they laid plans for thy destruction* 6, 21; *ana muxxi (mux) abiija for,*

*in behalf of, my father* 20, 8.—(3) *ultu muxxi after, since: ultu muxxi (mux) ša emurû-ma after they saw* 3, 21; *ultu muxxi (mux) . . . ikkiru since, from the time that, he revolted* 4, 11.—(HW 398<sup>a</sup>)

*maxrû former (Nisbeh form): šarru maxrû (max-ru-u) the former king* 2, 5.—(HW 403<sup>a</sup>)

*maxâru, prt. imxur, prs. imâxar, properly to be in front (cf. מחר to-morrow).—(1) to receive, accept, kî . . . maxru (max-ru) if it be acceptable, pleasing* 2, 32; 4, 27; *šumma maxir (ma-xi-ir) same,* 15, r. 18.—(2) *to bring (properly to place in front of): tamâxarâni-ma (ta-max-xa-ra-nim-ma) tanamdinânâšu ye shall bring and give us* 2, 57.—(HW 400<sup>b</sup>)

*maxîru (מחר), properly something received) price: ana maxîri (KI-LAM) for sale* 1, 36.—(HW 404<sup>b</sup>)

*mukîl, see kâlu.*

*mala (properly fulness; accus. of mâlu = mal'u, מלא, written ma-la, never ma-la-a) as much, many as: ma-la nišémû all that we may hear* 1, 24; *ma-la ibâšû all of them (literally as many as exist)* 2, 12; 3, r. 5; *ma-la dibbušu šulum so far as (as much as) his words were propitious* 20, r. 4.—(HW 410<sup>b</sup>)

*malû (מלא) full, complete: zîmišu ma-la-a his perfect health (literally his full form)* 1, 14.—(HW 411<sup>a</sup>)

*mimma, minma (mîn + ma) whatever, anything: min-ma anything* 1, 36; *ana mimma (NIN) kalâma in regard to everything whatever* 20, r. 3; *mimma (NIN) ša . . . bîšu whatever was bad* 5, 12.—(HW 418<sup>b</sup>.) Cf. *mî-nu, Eth. mî.*

*memeni (for man-man-ni) any, any one: ilânika šumma me-me-ni if any of thy gods* 14, 24. Cf. the following, *izirtû me-me-ni ina libbi šaṭrat is any curse written thereupon* H. 31, 10; *dullu me-me-ni any work* H. 109, r. 17; *me-me-e-ni lâ iš'alšu nobody has asked him* H. 49, r. 23; *ina muxxi me-me-ni lâ šalṭak I have control over nothing (or no one?)* H. 84, r. 6.—(HW 407<sup>a</sup>)

*mînu how? with ša, indefinite; mi-i-nu ša mâr šarri beli išâparâni as the prince may command* 8, r. 14.—(HW 406<sup>b</sup>)

*mînû what? mi-nu-u* 6, 29; *mînâ-ma (mî-nam-ma) why?* 2, 22; *(me-nam-ma) how?* 6, 5.—(HW 417<sup>b</sup>)

*mindêma (cf. nindema) when, if: min (man)-di-e-ma ana šarri beliṣa iqâbî if he says to the king* 5, r. 9.—Senn.



Bav. 40, arkiš min-di-ma Sin-axe-erba aggiš eziz-ma *afterwards when Sennacherib became violently enraged.*—(HW 416<sup>a</sup>)

minma, cf. mimma.

maççartu (nağâru, ܢܘܓܐ) *guard, watch* (both abstract and concrete): maççartâ'a (EN-NUN-a-a) ša taççurâ *the guard for me which ye have kept* 6, 37; ana ma-çar-ti lizzizû *let them stand guard* 7, r. 16; šulmu ana maççarâte (EN-NUN-MEŠ) gabbu *greeting to all the guards* 10, r. 5.—(HW 478<sup>a</sup>)

maqātu, prt. imqut, prs. imáqut *to fall.*—N<sup>t</sup> ittuqut (i-tu-qut, for intamqut, intauqut) *he fell* 11, r. 1.—(HW 424<sup>a</sup>)

mâru son: written DU; mârušu ša *the son of* 1, 7; mâr axâti *nephew* (sister's son) 1, 8; 3, r. 1; mâre axi *nephews* (brother's sons) 3, 15; mâr mâre *grandchildren* 6, 40; mâre bânûti *free born citizens* (cf. banû) 3, 16; ilu mâr bîti *the god of* (son of) *the temple* 20, 10.—(HW 390<sup>a</sup>)

marçu *sick, sick man, patient*: mar-çi 15, r. 1.—(HW 426<sup>b</sup>)

marâçu (مرض) *to be sick, ill*: permans. maruç (ma-ru-ug) *he is ill* 1, 13.—(HW 426<sup>a</sup>)

maruštu (fem. of maršu, properly *unclean*) *calamity, evil*: ma-ru-uš-ti 2, 18.—(HW 428<sup>a</sup>)

mûšu (form like kûru, for muš'u), pl. mušâti (cf. مساء, مَسِي, Eth. mēsēt), *night*: ūmi mu-šu *day and night* 13, r. 6.—(HW 429<sup>b</sup>)

mašâ'u, prt. imšû', *to rob*: kurûmâtani ša mašâ' (ma-ša-') *our provisions which have been stolen* 2, 57.—(HW 428<sup>a</sup>)

mašâru, 𐎠 muššuru *to leave, abandon; to let go, set loose* (cf. Haupt in PAOS, March '94, cvi): mâtsunu ina kutalli-šunu muššurat (muš-šu-rat) *their country fell away* (was let loose) *from their side* 2, 20.—𐎠<sup>t</sup> *to leave, abandon*: <sup>41</sup>Ma-dâkti undéšer (un-diš-šir) *he left* (abandoned) *Madâktu* 2, 7.—(HW 432<sup>b</sup>)

muššarû, mušarû, musarû (from Sumerian MU name + šaB *to write*, Assy. šīfir šumi) *inscription*: muš-ša-ru-u 16, r. 3; pl. muššarâne (muš-ša-ra-ni-i) 16, 19.—(HW 421<sup>a</sup>)

mātu (Syr. ܡܘܬܐ) *land, country*: written KUR 1, 9; 2, 9; 7, 6, etc.; ma-a-ti 4, 30; šar mâtâti (KUR-KUR) 3, 4; 4, 1. 4; 5, 1. 3, *king of the world* (literally *of the countries*).—(HW 434<sup>b</sup>)

mātu (מָוֶת), prt. imût, prs. imât, *to die*: permans. mîtu (mi-i-tu) *he died* 5, 16.—(HW 395<sup>a</sup>)

mutîr-pûti (cf. pûtu, târu) *satellite*: <sup>amei</sup> GUR-ERU-pu-tu 5, r. 25.—(HW 517<sup>b</sup>)

J

nîburu (עֲבָרָה) *ferry*: ni-bu-ru 18, 13. r. 5. 13.—(HW 11<sup>b</sup>, nfbiru.)

nâgîru, an official title, probably *overseer, superintendent*: <sup>amei</sup> LIGIR 2, 10.—(HW 447<sup>b</sup>)

nadû, prt. iddî, prs. inâdî, *to cast, cast down, lay*: ana targî axâmiš na-du-u *they are encamped (lie) opposite each other* 3, r. 23.— $\mathcal{Q}^t$  qâtsunu ina libbi... it-ta-du-u *they put their hand upon* 3, r. 9.—(HW 448<sup>b</sup>)

nadânu (נָדַן), prt. iddin, iddan; prs. inâdin, inamdin, iddan, *to give, place*.—Prt. iddanakunušu (id-dan-nak-kunu-šu) *he used to give you* 2, 55; ana dâki iddinûka (id-din-u-ka) *they have given thee over to destruction* 6, 11; pišunu id-danûnu (id-dan-nu-nu) *they sent a message (literally gave utterance)* 3, 25; niddinûni (ni-din-u-ni) *we gave* 15, 10.—Prs. addan (a-da-an) qâtâ'a *I will lay my hands* 7, r. 7; inamdinû (i-nam-di-nu) *they give* 2, 45; iddanû (id-dan-nu) *they will give* 13, r. 5; tanamdinânâšu (ta-nam-di-na-na-a-šu) *ye shall give us* 2, 58.—Prec. luddin (lu-ud-din) *I will give* 2, 28; liddinû (lid-di-nu) 14, 7; 15, 7; 17, 10; 19, 7; (lid-din-nu) 10, 12 *may they give*; niddin (ni-id-din) *we will give (cohortative)* 4, 32.— $\mathcal{Q}^t$  ittedinšunu (it-ti-din-šu-nu) *he has given, sold, them* 19, r. 2; pišu ittedin (it-ti-din) *he has given command (properly utterance)* 14, 27.—(HW 450<sup>a</sup>)

nadâru, prt. iddur, *to lavish*: ana bel tâbâtešu id-dur *he used to lavish upon his partizans* 2, 47.— $\mathcal{N}$  and  $\mathcal{N}^{\text{tn}}$  *to be angry, rage*.—The stem may be compared to Syr. ܢܕܪ *se profudit*, and so  $\mathcal{N}$  and  $\mathcal{N}^{\text{tn}}$  would properly mean *to overflow*; cf. malî libbâti, libbâti imtalî, etc.—(HW 452<sup>a</sup>)

nazâzu (Eth. nâzâza *to console, properly to support, to try to raise up, hold erect*), prt. izziz, prs. izzaz, *to stand*: elippu... ina Bâb-bitqi ta-za-az-za *the ship is (stands) at B-b.* 18, 10; ina pâniâ izzazû (i-za-zu) *they are (stand) with me* 7, r. 23; lizzizû (li-zi-zu) *let them stand* 7, r. 16.— $\mathcal{Q}^t$  *to place one's self*: ittišu it-ta-ši-iz-zu (*i. e.* ittašizzû for ittazizû) *they have sided with him* 3, r. 20; ina muxxi

amâtja tattašizzâ (ta-at-ta-ši-iz-za-') *ye can bear witness to (literally take your stand upon) my words* 2, 31. In these forms the š for z is merely due to dissimilation.—(HW 455<sup>a</sup>)

naxnaxtu *ala of nostril* (cf. modern Arabic فنجح *to speak through the nose*, = خنن, خنن): pl. naxnaxête (na-ax-na-xi-e-te) ša appi 15, r. 10. Compare naxîru.

naxnaxûtu (na-ax-na-xu-tu) *breathing* 15, r. 11.

nixêsu, prt. ixxis, prs. inâxis, inamxis, *to retire, go back, go*: ana Elamti kî ix-xi-su *when they had gone to Elam* 5, 15; ana Elamti ul ix-xi-is *he has not gone to Elam* 5, r. 14.—(HW 458<sup>a</sup>)

naxîru (𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶) *nostril*: pî naxîre (na-xi-ri) *within the nostrils* 15, r. 14.—(HW 458<sup>b</sup>)

naxxartu (= namxartu, from maxâru *to receive*) *receipt, income*: na-xar-tu 17, 13.—(HW 405<sup>b</sup>, namxurtu)

nakru *foe, enemy*: nakru (<sup>amel</sup>kur) u bûbûtu *foe and famine* 6, 27.—(HW 465<sup>a</sup>)

nakâru (𐎠𐎶𐎶), prt. ikkir, *to be strange, hostile; to revolt*: ina qât šarri ik-ki-ru (mod. rel.) *he revolted from the king* 4, 13.—(HW 464<sup>b</sup>)

nîmêlu (properly *result of labor*, عمل, لعمال) *produce, gain; welfare*: ni-me-il-šu *his welfare* 12, r. 1.—(HW 83<sup>b</sup>)

nîni (نن) *we*: ni-i-[ni]? 18, 15; cf. anîni.

nindéma (= mindéma, with assimilation of m to n) *if*: nin-di-e-ma . . . iqábî *if the king thinks* 2, 36; nin-di-e-ma . . . ippušû-ma *if they will bestir themselves* 2, 41.

nasâxu, prt. issux, prs. inâsax, *to pluck, tear out, remove with violence*: libbašu issuxa (zi-xa) *took away his understanding* 6, 8.—(HW 471<sup>a</sup>)

nasîku (𐎠𐎶𐎶) *prince*: <sup>amel</sup>na-si-ku 3, 14; pl. nasîkâti (<sup>amel</sup>na-si-ka-a-ti) *authorities, rulers* 3, 19.—(HW 472<sup>b</sup>)

napištu (𐎠𐎶𐎶, نفس) *soul, life, properly breath*: pl. nap-ša-a-te 8, r. 11. 18; zi-meš 13, r. 7 *life*; [balâṭ] na-piš-ti 13, r. 1-2; balâṭ napšâte (tin zi-meš) 4, 6; 5, 6; 20, 5 *life*; vii napšâte (zi-meš) šunu *they are seven in number (literally seven souls)* 19, r. 1.—(HW 476<sup>a</sup>)

naçâru (𐎠𐎶𐎶, نظف), prt. iççur, prs. inâçar, *watch, keep, protect*: 2 pl. taççurâ (taç-çu[r-ra]) 6, 37.—Prec. 3 pl. liççurû (li-iç-çu-ru) 8, r. 19.—Impv. sg. uçrî (uç-ri) 4, 37; pl. uçrâ (uç-ra) 3, 8.—(HW 477<sup>a</sup>)

niqû (properly libation, naqû to pour out; cf. מִנְקִי'וֹת) offering, sacrifice: written LU-SIGISSE 8, 18. r. 6.—(HW 479<sup>b</sup>)

nâru (נְהַר, נְהַר) river: written ID 2, 9; 3, r. 22.—(HW 440<sup>a</sup>)

nišu, pl. niše (נְשָׁא, ناس), people: written UN, UN-MEŠ; niše (UN-MEŠ) bitini the people of our house 2, 55; niše (UN-MEŠ) ša ina Ninua the people of Nineveh 9, r. 5. As determinative before gentilic names, *passim*.—(HW 483<sup>a</sup>)

našû (נָשָׂא), prt. iššî, prs. inášî, to lift, carry, bring, take: iššâ (iš-ša-') 5, 19. 20; iššâ-ma (iš-šam-ma) 5, r. 12 he brought; ša...iš-šu-u whom he got 19, r. 1; rešni ni-iš-ši (cohortative) we will hold up our heads 17, r. 5.—Part. nâši, cstr. nâš; nâš šappâte (šAMAN-LAL-MEŠ) jar bearers 8, r. 6.—N<sup>t</sup> ittanášû (it-tau-na-aš-šu) they levy, collect 2, 50.—(HW 484<sup>a</sup>)

našpartu (šapâru) command, behest: na-aš-par-tu ša šarri the king's behest 4, 22.—(HW 683<sup>b</sup>)

## D

sebû (سابع) seventh: ûmu sebû (VII KAM) the seventh day II, 6.—(HW 489<sup>b</sup>)

sâdu pasture(?): sa-a-du I, 31, 39; see parâku, p. 76.

sixu (for six'u) revolt: si-xu ana muxxi U. a revolt against U. 3, r. 17.—(HW 492<sup>b</sup>)

saxû to revolt: sixû (si-xu) šunûti they are in a state of revolt 2, 22.—(HW 492<sup>b</sup>). The *i* intrans. as in gibû.

saxâru (סַחַר), prt. isxur, to turn (intransitive).—F<sup>t</sup> to return, bring back: ilu...ussaxxar (u-sa-ax-xar, cf. § 51, 2) he will bring the god back 8, r. 3.—(HW 494<sup>a</sup>)

sikiptu (sakâpu) overthrow, defeat; as a term of reproach, smitten, accursed (cf. kibistu): si-kip-ti Bel accursed of Bel 2, 39; si-kip-ti Marduk agâ K 84 (H 301), r. 17; si-kip-ti Bel arrat ilâni smitten of Bel accursed of the gods K. 1250 (SK., ii. 59), 14.—(HW 499<sup>a</sup>)

sikru (= zikru, cf. sikru = zikru name, command, etc., partial assimilation of initial *z* to following *k*; placed in HW sub סַקְר and סַקְר respectively) man: lakû si-ik-ru xanni'u that poor fellow 14, 10.

sunqu (sanâqu to squeeze, press; Syr. סַנְק to need) need, famine: su-un-qu 2, 19.—(HW 505<sup>b</sup>)

ב

pû (פּוּ, פּוּ), genitive pî, *mouth*, then *utterance, word*: pi-i naxire *within* (properly *in the mouth of*, פּוּ) *the nostrils* 15, r. 14; pi-i-šu-nu iddanûnu *they sent a message* (literally *gave their utterance*) 3, 24; pi-i-šu ittedin *he has given his command* 14, 27.—(HW 523<sup>a</sup>.) Cf. pânu, pânâtu, pûtu.

paxâru, prt. ipxur, *to gather, assemble* (intransitive): <sup>ma</sup>Akkadî ni-ip-xur-ma *we, all Babylonia, will assemble* 4, 29.— $\text{J}$  transitive: bel řâbâtešu gabbi kî u-pax-xir *having assembled all his adherents* 2, 24; emûqešu kî u-pax-xir *having assembled his forces* 3, r. 21; u-pax-xa-ru-ma *they collect* 2, 44.—(HW 520<sup>a</sup>)

paxâtu (pexû *to close, shut in*) *district*, then for bel paxâ-ti *governor* (פּחָתָא): <sup>am</sup>el EN-NAM, bel paxâti or simply paxâtu 5, 19; 18, 11. r. 2; 19, 9.—(HW 519<sup>b</sup>)

pařaru (פּאָרָא), prt. ipřur, prs. ipářar, *to break, cleave, loose*.— $\text{Q}$  širřu ap-ta-řar *I undid the bandage* 14, 18.—(HW 522<sup>a</sup>)

palû *regnal year, reign*: labâr pale (BAL-e) *length of reign* 2, 3; 3, 4.—(HW 525<sup>a</sup>)

palâxu (Syr. פּלַח *to reverence, serve*), prt. iplax, prs. ipá-lax, *to fear, be afraid*: k[î ip]-la-xu (sg.) 2, 7; kî ip-la-xu (pl.) 3, 24 *having become alarmed*.—(HW 525<sup>b</sup>)

puluxtu *fear, terror, panic*: ina pu-lux-ti *in a state of panic* 2, 16; pu-lux-ti ulteribû *they are invaded by panic* 2, 18.—(HW 526<sup>b</sup>)

pânu (פּאַנִי), properly old plural of pû).—(1) *face*: pa-ni-šu-nu ana <sup>ai</sup>Š. řaknû *their faces turned towards* (i. e., going in the direction of) Š. 2, 13.—(2) *front, presence*: ina pâniia (ři-ia) izzazû *they are with me* (stand in my presence) 7, r. 22; ina pa-ni... qibî *tell* (say in the presence of) 19, r. 5; ina pa-an řarri lřrubû *let them come into the king's presence* 16, 10; qaqqar ina pa-ni-šu-nu rûqu *a long stretch of ground lay in front of them* 3, 17; ina pa-ni dâku *for the purpose of killing* 4, 14; kî ina pa-ni řarri maxru 4, 26; řumma pa-an řarri maxir 15, r. 18 *if it be acceptable to* (before) *the king* (cf. 2, 32); ana pa-ni-šu-nu ařápar *I will send to them* 2, 38; kî... ana pa-ni-šu-nu ittalka *when he reaches them* (comes into their presence) 2, 39.—(HW 530<sup>a</sup>)

pânâtu (fem. pl. of pânu) *front* (of space and time): ina pa-na-tu *beforehand* 7, 20.—(HW 531<sup>b</sup>)

paqádu (פקד), prt. ipqid, prs. ipáqid, *to command, appoint*: ša... ap-ki-du *whom I had appointed* 3, r. 3; šulmu issika... lipqidú (lip-qi-du) *may they ordain prosperity with thee* 9, r. 10.—(HW 534<sup>b</sup>)

paráku, prt. iprik, prs. ipárik, *to separate, shut off, lock*.— $\text{𐎧}^t$  kí... išten immeru ana sádu ša Elamti ip-te-ir-ku (*constructio praegnans*) *if a single sheep* (is separated from your flocks and) *gets over to the Elamite pasture(?)* I, 40.—(HW 539<sup>b</sup>)

parásu, prt. iprus, prs. ipáras, *to decide* (properly *to cut*): ana pa-ra-su ša šarnuppi inamdinú *they place* (the grain) *under the charge* (subject to the decision) *of the šarnuppu* 2, 44; similarly pa-ra-su ša šarnuppi 2, 48.—(HW 542<sup>b</sup>)

parap *five-sixths*: parap (KINGUSILI) kaspu *five-sixths of a shekel* 15, 10.—(HW 538<sup>a</sup>, parab)

parçu (فرض) *command, ordinance*: pl. parçe (pa-ar-çi) ša ilâni *the commands of the gods* 8, r. 10.—(HW 544<sup>b</sup>)

paširâti (properly *explanation*; pašâru *to loose, solve*; פשרה) *guarantee, credentials*: pa-ši-rat-ti... lušebilšu *I will send it* (the royal signet) *as a guarantee* (i. e., to give force to my request) 2, 35; šipirtâ pa-ši-rat-ti... ašápar *I will send my* (simple) *message as a guarantee* (i. e., my message will be guarantee enough for them) 2, 37.

pútu (fem. of pú), *front, entrance, border*: mutfr-pātu (<sup>amel</sup> GUR-RU pu-tu) *satellite, body-guard* (properly he who stood at the entrance and turned back those approaching) 5, r. 25.—(HW 517<sup>ab</sup>)

pittu (for pit'u, פתע) *moment, twinkling*; only in adverbial expressions ina pitti, appittma (=ana pitti-ma), etc.: ina pi-it-ti *immediately* 16, r. 5.—(HW 553<sup>a</sup>)

### צ

çábu (for çabbu, çab'u; ضبا) *man, soldier*: pl. çábe, written ERIM-MEŠ 3, 6; <sup>amel</sup> ERIM-MEŠ 7, 7. 12. r. 2. 5. 9; çábéja (<sup>amel</sup> ERIM-MEŠ-ja) *my men* 7, r. 19.—(HW 557<sup>b</sup>)

çibû (Aram. ציב) *to wish, desire*: kí... çi-bu-u *if he wishes* 5, r. 15. The *i* in çibû is the intransitive *i* as in çixru *small* = çaxir, Arabic نجس nijs *unclean* = najis, etc. (Barth, § 21).—(HW 558<sup>b</sup>)



*mand* I, 6; 5, r. 21.—Imv. fem. *qi-bi-' say!* I9, r. 5.—**𐤒**: *iq-ṭe-bi-a he says* I5, r. 4; *iqtabúnšū* (*iq-ta-bu-niš-šū*) *they said to him* I, 28.—(HW 577<sup>a</sup>)

*qallu servant, slave*: written <sup>amēl</sup> GAL-LA 5, r. 7. 16.—(HW 585<sup>b</sup>)

*qinnu* (𐤒) *nest, family*: <sup>amēl</sup> qin-na-aš-šū *gabbi all his family* 2, 3.—(HW 588<sup>b</sup>)

*qâpu*, prt. *iqîp*, prs. *iqâp to believe, trust, entrust*.—Prs. *šarru lâ i-qâp-šū let not the king believe him* 5, r. 11; 1. *a-qip-pu-'* (§ 115) *I believe* 6, 32.—**𐤒** *ša u-ka-ip-[u]-ni who have appointed, put in charge* 7, r. 13.—(HW 583<sup>b</sup>)

*qigru* (*qaçâru to bind*) *band, battalion*: *rabe-qigir* (<sup>amēl</sup> GAL-ki-gir-MEŠ) *chiefs of battalion, majors* 7, 10. r. 3.—(HW 591<sup>b</sup>)

*qaqqadu* (𐤒𐤒𐤒) *head, top, tip*: *qaqqad* (SAG-DU) *ubâni* *gixirti the tip of the little finger* I4, 22.—(HW 592<sup>b</sup>)

*qarâdu*, prt. *iq-ri-dan-nu* 3, r. 13.

*qarçu piece*: *qarçu akâlu* (Syr. **אכל קרצא**) *to slander, calumniate* (properly *to eat the pieces*): *qar-çi-ka ina pânfia ekulu he slandered thee before me* 6, 9.—(HW 597<sup>b</sup>)

*qâšu*, prt. *iqîš to grant, bestow*: *liqîšû* (*li-ki-šū*) *may they grant* 2, 4; 3, 5.—(HW 584<sup>b</sup>)

*qaštu* (𐤒𐤔), pl. *qašâti*.—(1) *bow*: *ina qašti* (GIŠ-PAN) *ramîti with bow relaxed, unstrung* 2, 42 (cf. **קשת רמיה**, Ps. lxxviii. 57; Hos. vii. 16).—(2) *force, troops*: *qašta* (GIŠ-PAN) *šunu mâla ibâsû kî idqû having mustered their entire force* 3, r. 4.—(HW 598<sup>a</sup>)

*qâtu*, dual. *qâtâ, hand*: *qa-ta-a-a* (i. e. *qâtâ'a*) *my hands* 7, r. 8; elsewhere written *šū*; *ša ina qât D... nušebila which* (i. e. the letters) *we sent by* (𐤒𐤓) *D.* 5, r. 23; *ina qât dîkitu accompanied by a troop* 2, 38; *kunukku ina qâti-šunu provided with a warrant* 7, 8; *qâtsu kî aḡbata having taken his hand* (i. e. given him my protection) I, 12; *ina qât from* I, 27; 2, 60.—(HW 598<sup>b</sup>)

*qatû to come to an end, perish*: 2 sg. permans. *qatâta, ina libbi ša itti bît belika qa-ta-a-ta because thou wouldst have perished with thy lord's house* 6, 19.—(HW 599<sup>b</sup>)

### 7

*rabû* (𐤒𐤁), cstr. *rab, great*: *rab bitî* (<sup>amēl</sup> GAL E) *major-domo* 2, 52; *rab qigir* (cf. *qigru*) *chief of battalion, major* 7, 10. r. 3; *rab mu-gi* I5, r. 3.—(HW 609<sup>a</sup>)



rubû (cf. rabû) *magnate, noble*: rubešu (<sup>amēl</sup> GAL-MEŠ-šu) *his nobles* 2, 40.—(HW 610<sup>a</sup>)

rebû (ربع) *fourth*: ūmu rebû (IV-KAM) *the fourth day* (of the month) 8, 10; 12, r. 6; 20, r. 2.—(HW 608<sup>a</sup>)

riḫu *remaining, the rest of*: pl. riḫûte (ri-xu-te) *the rest* (of the inscriptions, muššarâni) 16, r. 5.—(HW 618<sup>b</sup>)

raxâçu (רחצו, Dan. iii. 28), prt. irxuç, prs. iráxuç, *to trust, to have confidence in*: ina libbi ana muxxini tarax-xu-uç *in order that you may have confidence in us* 1, 32.—(HW 617<sup>a</sup>)

rixtu (stem رخص?) pl. rixâti and rixêti, *salutation, greeting*: ri-xa-a-te ša Nabû *greetings from Nabû* 10, r. 1.—(HW 616<sup>a</sup>)

rakâsu (כס, כס), prt. irkus, *to bind*.—š tal'itu ina muxxi urtakkis (ur-ta-ki-is) *I had applied* (bound on) *a dressing* 14, 13.—(HW 620<sup>b</sup>)

râmu (רם, רם), prt. irâm, irem, prs. irâm *to love*: ardu ša bît belišu i-ram-mu *a servant who loves his lord's house* 6, 31;—prt. râ'imu (ra-'i-mu) *loving* 2, 62.—(HW 603<sup>b</sup>)

remu (for raḥmu) *grace, favor, mercy*: remu (ri-mu) aš-kunâka *I have shown thee favor* 6, 24.—(HW 604<sup>a</sup>)

ramû (רמי, رمي), prt. irmî, *to throw, throw down, lay*; intrans. *to be slack, relaxed*.—š ūbat çabe rammî (ra-am-me, impv.) *establish a military post* 1, r. 6.—(HW 622<sup>a</sup>)

ramû *relaxed*: ina qašti ramîti (ra-mi-ti) *with bow relaxed, unstrung* (cf. qaštu) 2, 42.—(HW 623<sup>a</sup>)

râmânu (properly *highness*, רם) *self*: ra-man-šu *himself* 2, 41.—(HW 624<sup>a</sup>)

râqu (רק, רק), prt. irîq, *to be, or become, distant; to depart*: lillikû dullašunu lîpušû li-ri-qu-u-ni *let them come, perform their duty, and depart* H. 386, r. 3-5.—š Ašur urâqannî-ma (u-raq-an-ni-i-ma) *Ašur withholds me, keeps me far from* 6, 13.—(HW 605<sup>b</sup>)

rûqu (רוק, روك) *distant, remote*: qaqqar ina pânišunu ru-qu *they had a long stretch of ground before them* 3, 18; [ûme] ru-qu-u-te *distant days* 13, r. 3.—(HW 605<sup>b</sup>)

rešu (ראש, رأس).—(1) *head*: rešni (ri-[iš]-ni) niššî *we will lift up our heads* (be all right) 17, r. 5.—(2) *officer*: written <sup>amēl</sup> SA G, 19, r. 8; pl. <sup>amēl</sup> SA G-MEŠ 7, 7. r. 1.—(HW 606<sup>a</sup>)

ratāmu (𐤓𐤓𐤍), prt. irtum, *to bind, wrap*: ina appišu ir-tu-mu (which) *covered (enveloped) his face (nose)* 14, 14.

𐤔

ša (originally šā, and properly “accusative” of šû *he*).—(1) Demonstrative pronoun, *that one, those*: <sup>amēl</sup> Puqûdu ša ina <sup>41</sup>T. *the Pukudeans (viz.) those in T.* 1, 19; ināšu ša kûri *his eyes are diseased* (those of disease, like 𐤔 with genit.) 14, 11; ša bitxallâti *the cavalry* (they of riding horses) 7, r. 22.—(2) Relative pronoun, *who, which*, for all genders, numbers and cases: 2, 5. 23. 57. 60; 3, 15; 5, 12; 16, 6, etc.—(3) Preposition, sign of the genitive, *of*, 1, 5. 7. 8; 2, 4. 16. 38. 45; 3, 6. 13. 14; 10, r. 7; 11, 9. etc.; (as further development of this usage) *from*, ša libbi adri ekalli *from the palace enclosure* (he will go, etc. 8, 16; dâme ša appišu illakûni *blood comes from his nose* 15, r. 2.—(4) Conjunction, *that*: apil šipri ibâšu ša *a messenger has come to him* (with the news) *that* 1, 17.—(5) Used in a variety of compound expressions; ina libbi ša *because* 6, 17. 23; adš ša *until* 5, r. 13; ultu muxxi ša *since, after* 3, 21; 4, 11–12; ki ša *as* 4, 34; *how* 5, r. 20; *if* 5, r. 21–22.—(HW 630<sup>a</sup>)

šû.—(1) Pers. pronoun, *he*, fem. šî *she*, pl. masc. šunu, šun, fem. šina, *they*; šu-u *he* 5, 9. 11. 17; 6, 20; šu-nu *they* 2, 37; 7, r. 7. 22; 8, r. 10; 19, r. 1.—(2) Demons. pronoun, *this, that*, pl. šunûti(u), fem. šinâti, šinâtina: elippu šî-i *that ship* 18, 6; šu-u eteqa illaka *this is the route he will follow* 8, r. 4; sixû šu-nu-tu *these (people) are in revolt* 2, 22; šu-nu-ti-ma . . . liqbû *let these (men) tell* 5, r. 19.—(HW 645<sup>a</sup>)

še'u *grain, corn*: še' (šE-BAR) šibši (cf. šibšu) 2, 43. 48.—(HW 631<sup>a</sup>)

ša'ālu (𐤔𐤓𐤍, 𐤔𐤓𐤍), prt. iš'al, prs. išá'al, *to ask, inquire*: a-ša-'al *I will make inquiries* 7, r. 6; kî aš-'a-lu *when I asked* 20, 13; liš-'al *let him question* 5, r. 26; liš-'al-šu *let some one* (subject indefinite) *question him* 3, r. 25.—(HW 633<sup>a</sup>)

ši'āru, šeru (𐤔𐤓𐤍) *morning, morrow*: ina šî-a-ri *to-morrow* 15, r. 18.—(HW 635<sup>a</sup>)

šabātu *Shebat*, the eleventh month of the Babylonian calendar: written ITI-AŠ, 8, r. 16.—(HW 638<sup>a</sup>)

šibsu *tax, impost, rent*, apparently paid in kind: še šib-ši *tax-corn, grain levied as an impost* 2, 43; še' agâ ša šib-ši *this tax-corn* 2, 48; si-ib-šu eqli *the rent of a field* Str. Nbn. 167, 2; 753, 9.—Cf. KB. iv. 53 n.

šubtu (ašâbu, ܫܘܒܘ), cstr. šubat.—(1) *dwelling, settlement*: šubat (κϜ) gâbe *a military post* 7, r. 5.—(2) *ambush*: šu-ub-tu ina pânâtu ussešibu *he had laid an ambush beforehand* 7, 20.—(HW 246<sup>a</sup>; AJSL. xiv. 3)

šadâdu, prt. išdud, ildud, *to draw, bring*: mât Elamti ildudâ-ma (il-du-da-am-ma) *brought on Elam (against us)* 4, 13; nakru u bûbûti . . . ul taš-du-ud *foe and famine thou hast not brought on* 6, 29.—(HW 64<sup>a</sup>)

šuxdû (from xadû; form like šurbû, šušqû, §65, No. 33b) *glad, willing*: šu-ux-du-u-ma . . . lâ *not willingly* 16, 14.

šaṭâru (ܫܘܬܘܪܘ, ܫܘܬܘܪܘ), prt. išṭur, prs. išāṭar, *to write*: kî ša šaṭrâ (šaṭ-ra) *how they (the letters) were written* 5, r. 20; lišṭurû (liš-ṭu-ru) *let them write* 16, r. 4. 6.—(HW 651<sup>b</sup>)

šaknu (šakânu).—(1) *deputy, lieutenant*: šaknûtišunu (<sup>amel</sup> ša-nu-meš-šu-nu) *their deputies* 7, r. 13; ša-ak-nu *Bel the deputy, representative, of Bel, Sarg. Cyl. 1.*—(2) *governor, i. e. the deputy of the king.*—(HW 659<sup>b</sup>)

šakânu (ܫܘܟܢܘ, ܫܘܟܢܘ), prt. iškun, prs. išâkan, *to place, make, do.*—Prt. remu aškunâka (aš-kun-ak-ka) *I have shown thee favor* 6, 25; xamaṭṭa iškununi (ša-nu-u-ni) *they rendered aid* 8, r. 17; lâ niš-kun *we could not place* 16, r. 1.—Prs. i-šak-kan 2, 65; nišâkanûni *we would (like to) place* 17, r. 2.—Prec. liškunû (liš-ku-nu) *let them place* 15, r. 15; 16, r. 7; âka ni-iš-kun *where shall we place?* 17, r. 8.—Permans., pânišunu ana <sup>al</sup>š. šaknû (šak-nu) *with their faces turned towards Š.* (circumstantial clause) 2, 13-14.—<sup>N</sup>t itti sunqu ina mâtišunu it-taš-kin *when need came (was laid) upon their land* 2, 19.—(HW 657<sup>a</sup>)

šelibu (ܫܘܠܒܘ, ܫܘܠܒܘ), *fox*: written LUB-A II, 7.—(HW 634<sup>b</sup>)

šulmu (šalâmu), cstr. šulum, *welfare, prosperity*: usually written DI-mu; sulmu . . . lipqidû *may they ordain prosperity* 9, r. 4. 7; adannu ša šu-lum *the propitious occasion* 20, r. 1; mâla dibbušu šu-lum *so far as his words were favorable* 20, r. 5; šulmu jâši *it is well with me* 6, 2; šulmu adanniš *all goes well* 14, 8. 28.—Especially frequent in formulas

of greeting, šulmu, šulmu adanniš, ana šarri, etc., *greeting* (welfare), *a hearty greeting* (welfare exceedingly) *to the king*, etc., 7, 3. 5; 8, 3; 9, 4; 12, 5; 13, 3; 14, 3, etc.—(HW 664<sup>b</sup>)

šalāmu (שלם, سلم), prt. išlim, prs. iššalim, *to be whole, complete, perfect*.—𐎶 našparta ša šarri u-šal-lam *I will fulfill the king's command* 4, 23; lu-šal-li-mu-ka *may they keep thee whole* 9, 10; lu-šal-li-mu līpušú *may they perfectly perform* 8, r. 13.—(HW 663<sup>b</sup>)

šâlšū (ثالث), ordinal number, *third*: ūmu šâlšū (III KAM) *the third day* 8, 7.—(HW 666<sup>b</sup>)

šumu (שם, اسم, stem שמי), pl. šumâte (שמות), *name*: šu-mu ili *the name of the god* 1, 22.—(HW 666<sup>b</sup>)

šemû (שמע, سميع), prt. išmî, prs. išémî, *to hear*: išémî-ma (i-šim-mi-e-ma) *he will hear and* 2, 40; ašémîš (a-šim-meš) *I will hear it* 6, 7; mâla nišémû (ni-šim-mu-u) *as much as we may hear* 1, 24; šulmû lašmî (la-aš-me) *let me he hear (his) welfare* (i. e. how he does) 15, r. 19.—N<sup>t</sup> tat-tašmâ'innî (ta(?)-taš-ma-in-ni) *ye heard me* 2, 30. Harper, following Pinches (IV<sup>a</sup>, 52, No. 2), reads the first character, conjecturally, ri, tal, but some form of šemû is clearly required here.—𐎶 ul ušašmû (u-ša-aš-mu) *I have not informed* (or prs.?) 2, 62.—(HW 667<sup>a</sup>)

šummu *if*: šum-mu 7, r. 7; šum-ma 14, 24; 15, r. 18.—(HW 670<sup>b</sup>)

šunu *they, cf. šû.*

šânû (for šâni'u, šâniju), ordinal number, *second*: ūmu šânû (II KAM) *the second day* 12, r. 5.—(HW 674<sup>b</sup>)

šinâ (שנים), two: šinâ (II-TA) agâ šanâte *these two years* 6, 26.—(HW 674<sup>b</sup>)

šunûti *they, those, cf. šû.*

šupālu (שפל, سفلى) *lower part*: for ana šu-pal šāru 2, 9, rendered *southward*, cf. tâmti<sup>m</sup> šaplîtu as applied to the Persian Gulf, Zâba šaplîtu the Lower Zab, etc.; šupâl šāri would be a construct relation (like <sup>أول</sup>بَيْت), meaning literally *the lower* (i. e. the southern) *wind*.—(HW 681<sup>b</sup>)

šipru (cf. Heb. ספר *message, letter, writing, book*; ספר is an Assyrian loanword, therefore 𐎶 for š) *message*: apil šipri (<sup>amēl</sup> A-KIN) *messenger* 1, 17. 33; 2, 38; 4, 27; 16, 8.—(HW 683<sup>a</sup>)

šapāru (سافر, سفر), *to set out, journey*, prt. išpur, prs. iššapar, *to send, send word*, often with idea of command im-

plied.—Prt. iš-pu-ra 4, 8; iš-[pu-ra-ni] 4, 21; 2. taš-pur 6, 5. 35; 1. aš-pu-ra 3, r. 24.—Prs. sg. i-šap-par 2, 29; 16, 16; i-šap-par-an-ni *sends to command me* 8, r. 15; 2. tašap-par 4, 10; 1. a-šap-par 2, 38; ašáparášu (a-šap-pa-raš-šu) *I will send him* 1, 16; pl. išáparúnišu (i-šap-pa-ru-niš-šu) *they will send him* 2, 43; 1. nišáparáka (ni-šap-pa-rak-ka) *we will send to thee* 1, 25.—Prec. liš-pu-ra *let him send orders* 7, r. 14.— $\text{𐎶}$  same: issapra (i-sap-ra) 16, 18; 2. tal-tap-ra 1, 37; 1. assapra (a-sap-ra) 16, r. 3; al-tap-ra 1, 42; 3, 7. r. 14; 4, 33; 5, r. 27; assaparšunu (a-sa-par-šu-nu) *I sent them* 7, 10; assaprašunu (a-sap-ra-šu-nu) *I send, have sent, them* 16, 9; assaparášunu (a-sa-par-aš-šu-nu) *I sent word to them* 7, r. 5.—(HW 682<sup>a</sup>)

The primitive meaning of the stem šapâru may be *to be swift*, transit. *to dispatch*; šapparu *wild goat* (whence שׂפָרָה) may be *the swift one*; see Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Oct. '98, p. clxxv, n. 4; Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1892, pp. 437–450.

šipirtu (fem. of šipru) *message, letter*: šipirtâ (ši-pir-ta-a) *my message* 2, 37; pl. šipirêti (ši-pir-e-ti) *letters* 5, 17. 19. r. 12. 19. 22.—(HW 683<sup>b</sup>)

šappatu, pl. šappâte (better, perhaps, sappatu; cf. Heb. פְּרוֹת *basins, dishes*), jar: nâš-šappâte (<sup>amel</sup> šAMAN-LAL-MEŠ) *jar-bearers* 8, r. 6; for the ideogram šAMAN cf. Be. 1, (PSBA. Dec. '88) Col. I., 6.—(HW 681<sup>b</sup>)

šâru (שׂעָרָה, שׂעָרָה) *wind*.—(1) *point of the compass*: ana šupâl ša-a-ru *southward* (cf. šupâlu) 2, 19.—(2) *air*: ša-a-ru ikkasir *the air will be kept away* 15, r. 15.—(HW 635<sup>b</sup>)

šîru (שׂאָרָה) pl. šîrê *flesh, body*: tûb šîri (UZU) *welfare, health of body* 1, 5; 2, 2; tûb šîre (UZU-MEŠ) 3, 3; 10, 9; 14, 6; 15, 6; 19, 7.—(HW 634<sup>b</sup>)

šarru (שׂרָה), cstr. šar, pl. šarrâni, *king*: written LUGAL 1, 15; 2, 5. 28, etc.;—pl. LUGAL-MEŠ 1, 1. 5; 2, 1. 3. etc.;—mâr šarri (DU LUGAL) *prince* 8, 1. 3. 5. 11. r. 12. 14. 18; 10, 1. 3. 11. r. 3. 7; 15, 8.—(HW 692<sup>b</sup>)

širțu (properly *strip*; šarâțu *to tear, cut*, שׂרַט, שׂרַט) *bandage*: ši-ir-țu 14, 17.—(HW 690<sup>b</sup>)

šarku *pus*: šar-ku 14, 20.—(HW 692<sup>a</sup>, sub שׂרַק)

šarnuppu, Elamite official title: <sup>amel</sup> ša-ar-nu-up-pu 2, 45; <sup>amel</sup> ša-ar-nu-up-pi 2, 48, 51.

šârâte (fem. plural of šâru *wind*, = *Windbeuteleien*?) *lies, treason*: šipirêti agâ ša ša-ra-a-ti *these treasonable letters* 5, r. 20; ša-ra-te-e-šu (i. e. šârâtéšu) lâ tašémâ *do not listen to his lies* H. 301, 19.—(HW 648<sup>a</sup>)

šarrûtu (abstract from šarru) *royalty, sovereignty*: šar-ru-ut-ka *thy sovereignty* 8, r. 20.—(HW 693<sup>a</sup>)

šûtu *he, that one*: šu-tu-ma *that (god) indeed* 14, 26.—(HW 648<sup>b</sup>)

šattu (for šantu, שנה, سنة) *year*: pl. šanâte (MU-AN-NA-MEŠ) 5, 8; 6, 26; 17, 8.—(HW 673<sup>a</sup>)

### ת

tebû (تابع *to follow*), prt. itbî, prs. itábî, itébf, *to march, go* (especially with hostile intent): kf it-bû-u *when they came* (had marched) 3, 13; it-[bu-u-ni] *they marched* 3, r. 7; ti-bânu tebâ (ti-ba-') *make ye a raid!* 3, 9.—<sup>Q</sup> it-te-ni-ib-bu-u *they had come* (marched) 3, 23.—(HW 698<sup>b</sup>)

tibnu (תבן, תבן) *straw*: written šE-IN-NU 18, 15, r. 8.—(HW 700<sup>b</sup>)

tîbânu (tebânu) *raid, incursion* (tebû): ti-ba-a-nu *tebâ made ye a raid* 3, 9.

taziru, an official title: <sup>amel</sup> ta-zi-ru 7, r. 11.

tal'îtu (stem ל'א ?) (*surgical*) *dressing*: ta-al-i-tu 14, 12, 19; ta-al-i-te 14, 21.—(HW 366<sup>a</sup>)

tullummâ'u, apparently a term of reproach; šunu tul-lu-um-ma-'-u *they are . . .*, 2, 37.

timâli, itimâli (אתמול) *yesterday*: ina ti-ma-li 14, 15; 15, r. 5.—(HW 158<sup>a</sup>)

tapšuru (pašâru) *ransom*: tap-šu-ru igâmar-ma *he will pay a ransom* 2, 40.

târu (תור *to spy out, properly to go about, like* سار), prt. itûr, prs. itâru, *to turn, return*: ša . . . [i-tu-ra]-am-ma (i. e. itûrâ-ma) *who returned* 2, 6; ûmu rebû târšu (GUR-šu) ša Nabû *on the fourth day (will take place) the return of Nabû* 8, 10.—<sup>J</sup> Transitive, utârâka (u-tar-rak-ka) *I will return to thee, requite thee* 6, 40; nuterâ-ma (nu-ter-ra-am-ma) *we will restore* 4, 31.—(HW 701<sup>b</sup>)

tarçu (tarâçu *to stretch out*) *properly direction*: ana tar-çi axâmîš *opposite one another* 3, r. 22.—(HW 715<sup>a</sup>)

### INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

#### א

E-ana (Assyr. Bît šame), *House of Heaven*, name of the temple of Ištar at Erech, 4, 3; 5, 3.

Uba'ânât (<sup>amel</sup> U-ba-a-a-na-at), a tribe dwelling on the western frontier of Elam, 1, 30.

Idû'a (I-du-u-a), servant of Kudurru, 5, r. 15.

**Adiadi'a** (Ad-ia-di-'a), a noble of the city of Irgidu and father of Dalân, 3, 16.

**Adar** (DINGIR-BAR 14, 5; 15, 4) spouse of the goddess Gula; both deities often invoked by physicians, as patrons of the healing art.

**E-zida** (Assyr. Bîtu kenu) *The True Temple*, name of the temple of Nabû at Borsippa, 20, 7.—(HW 323<sup>a</sup>)

**Akkadi, mât** (KUR URI-KI) 4, 29; 5, 10, Babylonia.—Cf. Lehmann, *Šamašsumukin*, i. p. 68 ff.

**Ula'a** (ID U-la-a-a), the river Eulæus (𐎠𐎺𐎠, *Eûlaïos*), i. e. the modern Kerkha (against Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 329); see Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 114, p. 111<sup>b</sup>; cf. Part I. of this article (vol. xviii. p. 145, n. 1).

**Elamtu, mât, Elam** (𐎶𐎶𐎶, *Ἐλυμαία, Ἐλυμαίς*), properly *Highland*; written KUR NIM-MA-KI, 1, 9. 37. 39; 2, 4. 17. 44; 3, 9. r. 7. 15; 4, 13; 5, 9. 10. 14. 16. r. 10. 13.—Cf. Haupt, *Assyr. E-vowel*, p. 14 ff.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 320 ff.

**Amedirra** (A-me-dir-ra), an Elamite, father of the rebel Ummanigaš, 3, r. 16.

**Ummaxaldāšu, Ummanaldas**, son of Attametu, king of Elam [Um-ma-xal-da]-a-šu, 2, 5; Um-ma-xal-da-a-šu, 2, 23. 34. 35. 58; 3, r. 17; Um-ma-xal-da-šu, 3, r. 20.—The name is written Um-man-al-da-si (var. das), KB. ii. 194, 112; 196, 2; Um-man-al-da-a-ši, ibid. 246, 74; cf. also Xum-ba-xal-da-šu, ibid. 280, 31. 33.

**Umxulumā'** (Um-xu-lu-ma-'), an Elamite noble, 2, 22. 46. 54.

**Ammaladin** (Am-ma-la-din), prince of Iâši'an, 3, 13.

**Ummanigaš**;—(1) king of Elam, son of Urtaku; Um-man-i-gaš, 6, 9. 21.—(2) son of Amedirra, rebelled against Ummanaldas; Um-man-ni-gaš, 3, r. 16.

**Ummanšimaš** (Um-man-ši-maš), an Elamite official (Nâ-gir), 2, 11.

**Undadu** (Un-da-du), an Elamite official (zilliru), 2, 11.

**Upi'a** (U-pi-a), Opis, a city at the junction of the Tigris with the Adhem, 18, 12. r. 7.—Cf. Part I. of this article (vol. xviii. p. 171).

**Iqiša-aplu** (BA-ša-A), (*The god*) *has bestowed a son*, 3, r. 10. 23.

**Arba'il** (<sup>41</sup>TATTAB-DINGIR), Arbela, properly *The city of the four gods*, 9, 7; 10, 7; 19, 5.—(Delitzsch, *Par.* 124. 256)

**Irgidu** (Ir-gi-du), an Elamite city, two double leagues west of Susa, 3, 11.

**Arad-Ea** (NITA-DINGIR-E-A), *Servant of Ea*, Assyrian priestly astrologer, 13, 2.

**Arad-Naná** (NITA-DINGIR-NA-na-a), *Servant of Naná*, physician of Esarhaddon, 14, 2; 15, 2.

**Uruk** (Sumerian UNU-KI = Assyr. šubtu *abode*), the city of Erech (𒍪), in Southern Babylonia; written UNU-KI 4, 3. 5; 5, 3. 5. 13. r. 8. 16.—(*Par.* 121 ff.)

**Arapxa** (<sup>al</sup> Arap-xa), Arrapakhitis (*Ἀρραπαχίτις*), a city and district, north of Assyria, about the sources of the Upper Zab, 18, 12. r. 2. 11.—(*Par.* 124 ff.)

**Išdî-Nabû** (GIBI-DINGIR-PA), *Nabû is my foundation*, an Assyrian official, 10, 2.

**Ašur** (properly *The Beneficent*, 𒍪), the national god of Assyria; written DINGIR-Ašur, 11, 9; 17, 6; Ašur (without DINGIR), 12, 13; 18, 4; DINGIR-DUG, 1, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 6, 12.—(HW 148<sup>b</sup>)

**Aššur, mât**, Assyria (𒍪); written KUR-Aššur-KI, 2, 28; 3, r. 4; KUR DINGIR-DUG-KI, 5, 13.

**Aššurû**, Assyrian; pl. Aššure (DINGIR-DUG-KI-MEŠ), Assyrians, 6, 34.

**Ašur-mukîn-paléja** (Ašur-mu-kîn-BAL-ja) *Ašur establishes my reign*, son of Sardanapallus, 12, 10.

**Ištar** (*beneficent*, form 𒍪<sup>t</sup> from 𒍪), the goddess Ištar; Ištar (DINGIR-NANNA) ša Uruk, 4, 5; 5, 5; Ištar (DINGIR-XV) ša Ninua, 9, 6; 19, 4; Ištar (DINGIR-XV) ša Arba'il; 9, 7; 10, 7; 19, 5.

**Ištar-dûrî** (DINGIR-XV-du-ri), *Ištar is my wall*, an Assyrian official, 16, 2.

## ב

**Bâbilu**, Babylon, properly *Gate of God*; Belit Bâbili (KA-DINGIR-BA-KI), 19, 3.

**Bâbilâ** (KA-DINGIR-a-a), 17, 4.—The name means *devoted to (the god of) Babylon*.—Cf. Part. I. of this article, p. 168.

**Bâb-bitqi** (<sup>al</sup>KA-bit-qi), a city of Babylonia. Cf. Part I. p. 171.

**Bel** (*lord*, 𒍪), the god Bel; written DINGIR-EN, 2, 39; 8, r. 16; 9, r. 9; 10, 5; 17, 7; 19, 3; EN (without DINGIR), 12, 13.

**Bel-ibnî** (DINGIR-EN-ib-ni), *Bel has begotten (a son)*, an Assyrian general, and governor of the Gulf District, 1, 2; 2, 1; 3, 2.—Cf. Part I. p. 134.



**Bel-eṭer** (DINGIR-EN-SUR), *Bel has preserved*, father of Pir'i-Bel, 5, 7. 15.

**Bel-upâq** (DINGIR-EN-u-paq), *Bel gives heed*, writer of No. 20, son of Kunâ, 20, 1.

**Bel-iqîša**, *Bel has bestowed*;—(1) Prince of Gambûlu; DINGIR-EN-BA-ša, 4, 12.—(2) One of the writers of No. 17; EN-BA-ša, 17, 3.

**Balası** (Ba-la-si-i), Assyrian astrologer (Βάλεος), 12, 3.

**Belit** (fem. cstr. of Bel), the goddess Belit; written DINGIR-NIN-LIL, 10, 6; 18, 4; DINGIR-NIN (Brünnow, No. 7336), 19, 3; Belit (DINGIR-NIN) Bâbîli, 19, 3.

**Bît-Na'âlâni** (E Na-a-a-la-ni), name of a district, 19, 9.

↓

**Gaxal** (Ga-xal), grandfather of Šumâ, 1, 7.

**Gula** (modification of GALA *great*), the goddess Gula, spouse of Adar q. v.; DINGIR Gu-la, 14, 5; 15, 5.

**Gambûlu** (<sup>41</sup>Gam-bu-lu), a district of Southern Babylonia, 4, 9. 25.—(*Par.* 240 ff.)

⌈

**Daxxâ** (<sup>ame1</sup>Dax-xa-'), an Elamite tribe, 1, 10. 11.

**Daxxadi'u'a** (<sup>ame1</sup>Dax-xa-di-u-a), an Elamite tribe, 2, 21.

**Dalân** (Dâ-la-a-an), a noble of Irgidu, son of Adjadf'a, 3, 15.

**Deri** (<sup>41</sup>Di-ri), a city near the frontier of Elam and Babylon 16, 18.—*Cf.* Part I. p. 165.

**Dâru-šarru**, *The king is eternal*, messenger of Nabû-ušabšî; Da-a-ru-LUGAL, 5, 20; Da-ru-LUGAL, 5, r. 23. 25.

**Dûr-šarrukîn** (<sup>41</sup>BAD-DIŠ-MAN-GIN) *Sargonsburg*, a city of Assyria, north of Nineveh, 7, r. 20.—*Cf.* Part I. p. 151.

⌈

**Xa'adâlu** (<sup>41</sup>Xa-a-a-da-a-lu), a city in the highlands of Elam, 2, 15; also called *Xa'idâlu* and *Xîdâlu*.—(*Par.* 328)

**Xa'adânu** (<sup>41</sup>Xa-a-da-nu), a city of Elam, 3, r. 19.—(*Par.* 329)

**Xudxud** (<sup>nar</sup>Xu-ud-xu-ud), a river in Elam, 3, r. 18.—(*Par.* 329)

**Xuxân** (<sup>ame1</sup>Xu-xa-an), an Elamite tribe, 2, 14.

⌈

**Tâb-çil-Ešâra** (DUG-GA-NUN-E-ŠAR-EA), *Good is the shelter of Ešâra*, governor of the city of Aššur and eponym for the year 714 B. C., 18, 2.—*Cf.* Part I. p. 171.

Īāšī'an (<sup>amēl</sup> Īa-a-šī-an), a district of Elam, 3, 14.

Kidimuri, an Assyrian temple; Belit <sup>lat</sup>belit Ki-di-mu-ri, 10, 6.—(HW 318<sup>a</sup>)

Kudurru (šA-DU), *Boundary*, governor of Erech, 5, r. 16.

Kalxu (<sup>al</sup>Kal-xi), Calah (𐎧𐎺𐎠), a city of Assyria lying a little south of Nineveh, 8, 7. 14.—(*Par.* 261)

Kuná (Ku-na-a), father of Bel-upâq, 20, 2.

Laxiru (<sup>al</sup>La-xi-ru), a Babylonian city near the Elamite border, 3, 20.—(*Par.* 323)

Madaktu (*camp*), an important city of Elam (Badáκη); <sup>al</sup>Ma-dak-tu, 2, 23; <sup>al</sup>Ma-dak-ti, 2, 7.—(*Par.* 325 ff.; cf. Haupt, in *Beitr. zur Assyr.* i. p. 171)

Marduk (DINGIR-MARADDA), Bel-Merodach, the national god of Babylon, I, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 8, 5; 9, 5; II, 3; I2, 7; I3, 5.

Marduk-erba (DINGIR-MARADDA-SU), *Marduk increase*, I9, r. 2. 6.

Mušēzib-Marduk (Mu-še-zib-DINGIR-MARADDA), *Marduk delivers*, nephew of Bel-ibnī, 3, r. 1. 6. 10.

Nabū, Nebo (𐎠𐎺), the special deity of Borsippa; written DINGIR-AK, 8, 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. r. 9. 16; II, 3; I3, 5; I7, 7; I9, 4; 20, 4; DINGIR-PA, 9, 5. r. 9; IO, 5. r. 2; I2, 7.—Cf. Part I. p. 153.

Nabū'a (Na-bu-u-a), *Devoted to Nabū* (a name like Mardukâ, etc.), an Assyrian astrologer, II, 2.

Nabū-axe-erba (DINGIR-PA-KUR-MEŠ-SU), *Nabū increase the brothers*, one of the writers of K. 565, I2, 4.

Nabū-erba (DINGIR-PA-SU), *Nabū increase*, an Assyrian physician, I6, 5.

Nabū-ušabšī, *Nabū has brought into existence*, an Assyrian official of Erech; written DINGIR-PA-GAL-šī, 4, 2; DINGIR-AK-GAL-šī, 5, 2.

Nabū-bel-šumâte (DINGIR-AK-EN-MU-MEŠ), *Nabū is the possessor of names* (i. e. many famous and honorable titles), the last Chaldean king of Bīt-Īakīn.—See the genealogical table below, p. 93.

**Nabû-šum-iddina** (DINGIR-PA-MU-AŠ), *Nabû has given a name*.—(1) An Assyrian priest, 8, 2; 9, 3.—(2) An Assyrian physician, 16, 4.

**Nugû'** (<sup>amel</sup>Nu-gu-u-'), an Elamite tribe dwelling near the Babylonian frontier, 3, 20.

**Nadân** (Na-dan), *gift*, a Chaldean of Puqûdu, 1, 17. 35.

**Nanâ** (DINGIR-Na-na-a), a Babylonian goddess, 4, 6; 5, 5; 20, 4.

**Ninua** (𐎠𐎢𐏁), Nineveh, the capital of Assyria; written Ninâ-KI, 9, 6; 19, 4; <sup>al</sup>Ninâ, 9, r. 6.—(Par. 260; cf. *Beitr. zur Assyr.* iii. p. 87 ff.)

**Nin-gal** (DINGIR-NIN-GAL), *Great Lady* (Assyr. beltu rabîtu), the spouse of the moon-god Sin, 13, 6. 9.

**Nisxur-Bel** (NIS-XUR-DINGIR-EN), *Let us turn to Bel*, major-domo of Nabû-bel-šumâte, 2, 52.

**Nusku** (DINGIR-NUSKU), the Assyrian fire-god, 13, 6.

## D

**Sallukkê'a** (<sup>amel</sup>Sal-lu-uk-ki-e-a), an Elamite tribe, 2, 21. 50.

**Sin** (DINGIR-XXX), the moon-god, 12, 13; 13, 5. 9.

**Sin-šarra-uçur** (DINGIR-XXX-LUGAL-ŠEŠ), *O Sin, protect the king*, 6, 4.

**Sin-tabnî-uçur** (DINGIR-XXX-tab-ni-šEŠ), *O Sin, protect (what) thou hast created*,<sup>1</sup> governor of Ur in Babylonia, 6, 1.

**Sarâ'a** (<sup>amel</sup>Sa-ra-a-a) writer of No. 19.—Cf. Part I. p. 173.

## D

**Penzâ** (<sup>al</sup>Pi-en-za-a), a city in or near the district of Tuš-khan, 7, 9.—Cf. Part I. p. 151.

**Puqûdu** (𐎢𐎱𐎠), Ezek. xxiii. 23), a Chaldean tribe dwelling in Babylonia near the Elamite border; <sup>amel</sup>Pu-qu-du, 1, 18.—(Par. 240)

**Pir'i-Bel** (Pir'i-DINGIR-EN), *Offspring of Bel*, son of Bel-eṭer, 5, 7; cf. note ad loc.

## Y

**Çabṭânu** (<sup>al</sup>Çab-ṭa-nu), a city near the western frontier of Elam, 3, 7. 8.

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<sup>1</sup> This explanation I owe to a personal communication from Dr. Bruno Meissner. I had rendered the name differently in Part I. p. 148, but Dr. Meissner's rendering seems preferable.

𐎠

**Radê** (<sup>41</sup>Ra-di-e), a city of Elam, 2, 49.—(*Par.* 327)

**Rammân** (DINGIR-IM), the god of the atmosphere (𐎠𐎠𐎠), 12, 14.

𐎡

**Ša-Ašur-dubbu**, governor of Tuškan; written Ša-Ašur-du-bu, 7, 2; Ša-Ašur-du-ub-bu, H. 139, 2.—The word dubbu, which forms part of this name, would seem to be from the stem dabâbu *to speak*.

**Šuxarisungur** (<sup>41</sup>Šu-xa-ri-su-un-gur) a city of Elam, 2, 13; *Par.* 327 reads the final syllable si instead of gur.

**Šumâ** (Šu-ma-a), *My name*, nephew of Tammaritu, 1, 6.

**Šum-iddina** (MU-SI-NA), (*The god*) *has given a name*, father of Šumâ, 1, 7.

**Šamaš**, the sun-god (𐎡𐎠𐎡, شمس); DINGIR-BABBAR, 1, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 4, 16; 12, 14; DINGIR-GIŠ-ŠIR, 6, 8.

**Šamaš-bel-uçur** (DINGIR-BABBAR-EN-KUR), *O Šamas protect (my) lord*, Eponym for the year 710 B. C., 16, 17.—*Cf.* Part I. p. 165.

**Šupri'a** (<sup>mât</sup>Šup-ri-a-a), the Suprian, 7, 14. 19.—*Cf.* Part I. p. 151.

**Šušan** (<sup>41</sup>Šu-ša-an), Susa (𐎡𐎡𐎡), the capital of Elam, 3, 13.—(*Par.* 326)

𐎢

**Til . . .**, a city on the frontier of Elam and Babylonia, 1, 19.

**Talax** (Ta-la-a-x), a city of Elam, 2, 10. 49.—(*Par.* 327)

**Tammaritu** (Tam-ma-ri-ti), king of Elam, 1, 8.—See genealogical table, p. 92)

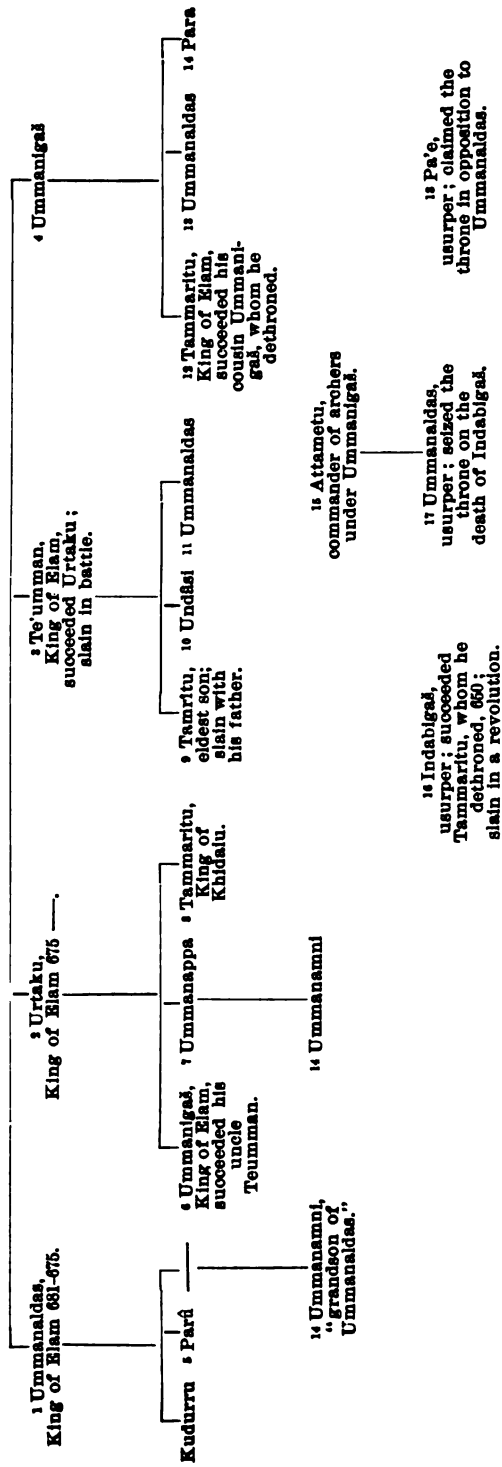
**Tâmti<sup>m</sup>**, **mât** (properly the *sea country*; cf. تهامة, the name of a sandy stretch of coast along the Red Sea), the Gulf District, i. e. the district lying about the shore of the Persian Gulf; **mât Tam-tim**, 3, 5.—*Cf.* Haupt, in *Hebraica*, i. p. 220, n. 4.

**Targibâti** (<sup>41</sup>Tar-gi-ba-a-ti), an Elamite city near the Babylonian frontier, 1, 21.

**Tašmetu<sup>m</sup>** (*intelligence*, properly *hearing*), a Babylonian goddess, spouse of Nabû; DINGIR-Taš-me-tum, 19, 4.



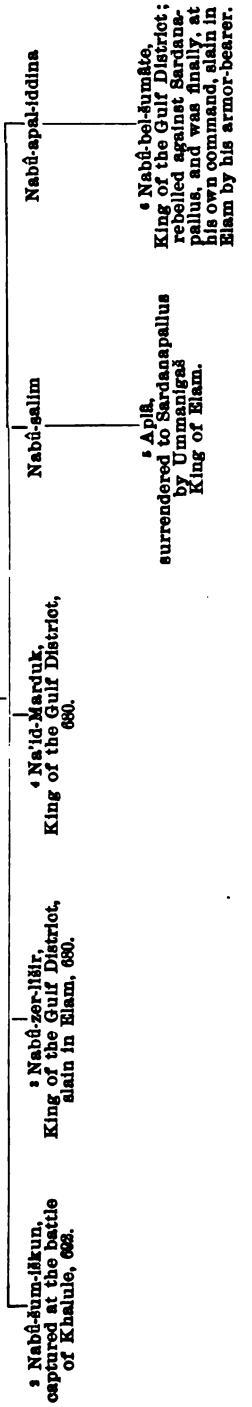
**THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ELAM,  
Contemporary with Esarhaddon and Sardanapallus.**



- 1 *K. B.*, ii. p. 261, l. 88; p. 262, col. iv, ll.
- 2 *K. B.*, ii. p. 244; p. 262, col. iv, ll.
- 3 *K. B.*, ii. p. 246, l. 71.
- 4 *III R.*, 36, 84.
- 5 *K. B.*, ii. p. 246, ll. 73, 88; p. 246, l. 88.
- 6 *K. B.*, ii. p. 182, l. 44; p. 246, ll. 76, 88; p. 248, l. 86.
- 7 *K. B.*, ii. p. 246, ll. 76, 88; p. 246, l. 86.
- 8 *K. B.*, ii. p. 182, l. 46; p. 246, ll. 76, 88; p. 248, l. 86.
- 9 *K. B.*, ii. p. 180, col. ii, 2, below.
- 10 *K. B.*, ii. p. 244, l. 6.
- 11 *G. Smith, Aertb.*, p. 166.
- 12 *III R.*, 36, 84; *K. B.*, ii. p. 186.
- 13 *G. Smith, Aertb.*, p. 191.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- 15 *K. B.*, ii. p. 266, l. 10.
- 16 *K. B.*, ii. p. 188, l. 11; p. 266, l. 75; *Tiele, Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.*, p. 380.
- 17 *K. B.*, ii. p. 266, l. 114.
- 18 *K. B.*, ii. p. 212, l. 61; p. 230, l. 17; p. 264, l. 6.

THE CHALDEAN KINGS OF BĪT-JAKĪN.

<sup>1</sup> Marduk-apal-iddina  
(Merodach-baladan)  
of Bīt-Jakīn, King of Babylon  
721-710, 708-702.



<sup>1</sup> K. B., II. p. 14, l. 26; p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> K. B., II. p. 108, col. vi, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Also called Nabū-zer-napīstī-išīr, and Zer-kenīš-išīr; K. B., II. p. 128, l. 32; p. 144, l. 15; p. 282, l. 39.

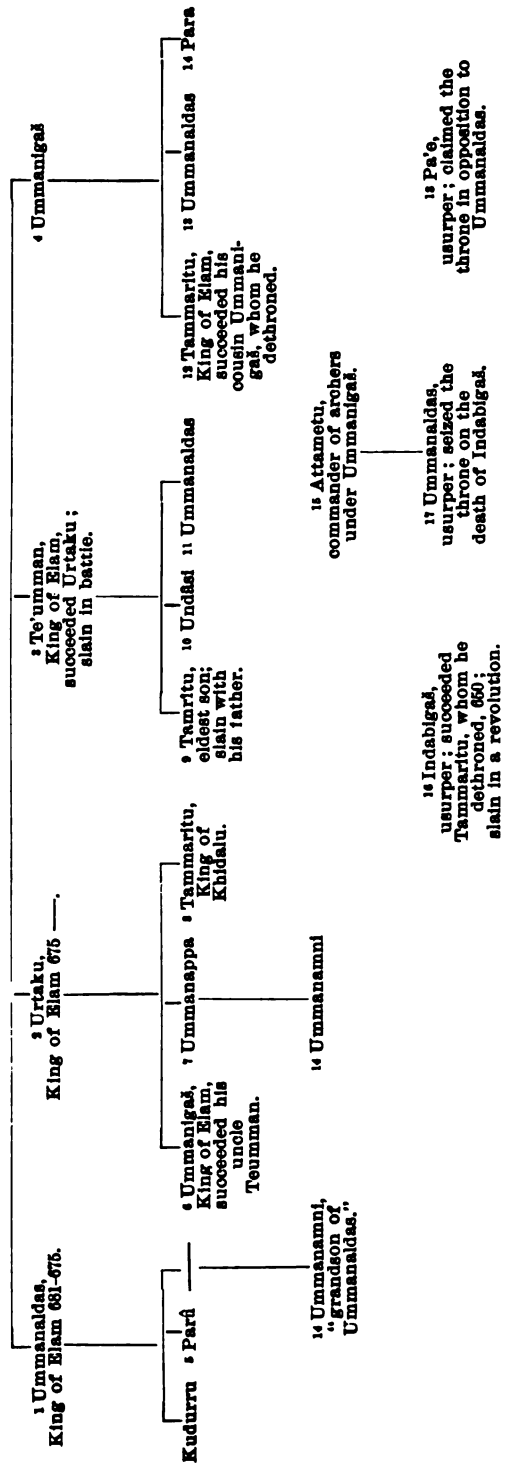
<sup>4</sup> K. B., II. p. 128, l. 35; p. 144, l. 20.

<sup>5</sup> K. B., II. p. 256, l. 65; Smith *Aertb.*, p. 186, l. 61.

<sup>6</sup> K. B., II. p. 212, l. 28; p. 290.

N. B.—Cf. Winckler's article "Die Stellung der Chaldäer in der Geschichte," published in his *Untersuchungen*, p. 47-64.

**THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ELAM,**  
**Contemporary with Esarhaddon and Sardanapallus.**



1 *K. B.*, ii. p. 281, l. 88; p. 282, col. iv, ll.  
 2 *K. B.*, ii. p. 244; p. 282, col. iv, ll.  
 3 *K. B.*, ii. p. 246, l. 71.  
 4 *III R.*, 34, 34.  
 5 *K. B.*, ii. p. 246, ll. 73, 83; p. 248, l. 88.  
 6 *K. B.*, ii. p. 188, l. 44; p. 246, ll. 76, 88; p. 246, l. 86.  
 7 *K. B.*, ii. p. 246, ll. 76, 88; p. 248, l. 86.  
 8 *K. B.*, ii. p. 188, l. 48; p. 246, ll. 76, 88; p. 248, l. 86.  
 9 *K. B.*, ii. p. 180, col. ii, 2, below.  
 10 *K. B.*, ii. p. 284, l. 6.  
 11 G. Smith, *Aertb.*, p. 196.  
 12 *III R.*, 34, 34; *K. B.*, ii. p. 188.  
 13 G. Smith, *Aertb.*, p. 191.  
 14 *Ibid.*, p. 196.  
 15 *K. B.*, ii. p. 284, l. 10.  
 16 *K. B.*, ii. p. 188, l. 11; p. 260, l. 73; *Tiele, Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.*, p. 380.  
 17 *K. B.*, ii. p. 286, l. 114.  
 18 *K. B.*, ii. p. 212, l. 51; p. 280, l. 17; p. 284, l. 6.



THE CHALDEAN KINGS OF BĪT-JAKĪN.

<sup>1</sup> Marduk-apal-iddina  
(Merodach-baladan)  
of Bīt-Jakīn, King of Babylon  
721-710, 703-702.

<p><sup>2</sup> Nabū-šum-šikrūn captured at the battle of Khaduē, 682.</p>	<p><sup>3</sup> Nabū-zer-Nīšir, King of the Gulf District, slain in Ešam, 680.</p>	<p><sup>4</sup> Ne'id-Marduk, King of the Gulf District, 680.</p>	<p>Nabū-salim</p>	<p>Nabū-apal-iddina</p>
			<p><sup>5</sup> Adis, surrendered to Sardanapallus by Ummunigāš King of Ešam.</p>	<p><sup>6</sup> Nabū-bel-dumāte, King of the Gulf District; rebelled against Sardanapallus, and was finally at his own command slain in Ešam by his armor-bearer.</p>

<sup>1</sup> K. B., II. p. 14, l. 23; p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> K. B., II. p. 106, col. vi, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Also called Nabū-zer-napīšti-Nīšir, and Zer-keniš-Nīšir; K. B., II. p. 123, l. 23; p. 144, l. 15; p. 232, l. 39.

<sup>4</sup> K. B., II. p. 123, l. 26; p. 144, l. 20.

<sup>5</sup> K. B., II. p. 256, l. 65; Smith *Arb.*, p. 135, l. 61.

<sup>6</sup> K. B., II. p. 212, l. 23; p. 236.

N. B.—Cf. Winckler's article "Die Stellung der Chaldäer in der Geschichte," published in his *Untersuchungen*, p. 47-64.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

As the literature of the subject is not extensive, I have endeavored to give here a complete bibliography of all works dealing especially with Assyrian Letters. It has not, however, been thought necessary to notice all epistolary texts incidentally published or translated in Assyriological publications. For these see Part I. pp. 125-129, Dr. Berry's paper noticed below, and Bezold's *Catalogue of the K. Collection*.

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——— *Assyrian Letters*. *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, ix. pp. 240–256; x. pp. 80–72; 155–177; 305–315. Reprinted separately, under the same title, 1888.—Text, transliteration, and translation of thirty-three letters, with notes.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- AJSL: *American Journal of the Semitic Languages.*  
 APR: Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht.*  
 BA: *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Delitzsch and Haupt).  
 H: Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.* Texts are cited by number, not by page.  
 HW: Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*  
 JHU Circ.: *Johns Hopkins University Circulars.*  
 KB: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.*  
 PAOS: *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.*  
 PSBA: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*  
 Par.: Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*  
 SK: Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten.*  
 Str. Nbk.: Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor.*  
 Str. Nbn.: Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus.*  
 T<sup>c</sup>: Tallqvist, *Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nd'ids.*  
 TSBA: *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*  
 W: Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch.*  
 ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

Numbers in heavy-faced type, not otherwise qualified, refer to the texts treated in Part I. of this article. For example, **17**, **2**, refers to No. **17** (Part I., p. 169), line 2; **8**, r. 6 = No. **8** (Part I., p. 155), reverse, line 6.

§ refers to the paragraphs in Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar.*

The verbal stems are designated as follows:—**Q** = Qal, **Q<sup>t</sup>** = Iftaal, **Q<sup>tn</sup>** = Iftaneal, **N** = Nifal, **N<sup>t</sup>** = Ittatal, **I** (Intensive), **I<sup>t</sup>** = Iftaal, **S** = Shafel, **S<sup>t</sup>** = Ishtafal.

Other abbreviations used require no explanation.

*Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa to the history of  
the Brāhmaṇa literature.*—By PROFESSOR HANNIS OERTEL,  
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Second Series:<sup>1</sup> I. Saramā and the Paṇis.

Rig-Veda x. 108, with its spirited dialogue between Saramā and the Paṇis, belongs to that class of epic hymns to which attention was first drawn by Windisch,<sup>2</sup> and which since then has been very fully treated by Oldenberg<sup>3</sup> under the name of *ākhyāna*-hymns, and by Geldner and Pischel<sup>4</sup> under the name of *itihāsa*-hymns. But of the frame-story which formed the setting of the dialogue we know but little. The Bṛhaddevatā (ed. R. Mitra, viii. 24 ff. = p. 221), to be sure, gives in twelve stanzas a brief outline of which the essential points are these: The Paṇis, a class of Asuras, living beyond the river Rasā, steal and hide Indra's cows. Bṛhaspati sees their hiding-place and, on his information, Indra sends Saramā in quest of the cows. Being asked by the Paṇis about her errand, she tells them that she has come in search of Indra's cows. "Never mind the cows," the Paṇis reply, "stay here as our sister" (*mā sarame gās tvam ihā 'smākaṃ svasā bhava*). Saramā, while she rejects this offer and other gifts, declares herself willing to be bribed into silence by a draught of the milk of the hidden cows (*nā 'ham icchāmi svasṛtvam vā dhanāni vā | pibeyam tu payas tāsām gavām yās tā nigūhatha*). After this wish has been gratified, she again crosses the Rasā and returns to Indra. Indra asks her: "Hast thou seen the cows?" And she, at the instigation of the Asuras, replies: "No." Thereupon Indra in wrath beats her. She, terror-stricken and throwing up the milk, runs back to the Paṇis. But Indra, following the track of the milk, drives against the Paṇis, slays them, and recovers the cows (*pupracche 'ndraç ca saramām kaccid gā dṛṣṭavaty asi | sā ne'ti pratyuvāce 'ndram prabhāvād āsurasya*

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<sup>1</sup> The First Series appeared in Vol. xviii. pp. 15-48.

<sup>2</sup> *Verhandlungen d. 33. Versammlung deutscher Philologen, etc., in Gera*, 1879, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG. xxxvii. 54; and especially xxxix. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Vedische Studien*, i. 248; ii. 1 and 292.

*hi | tām jaghāna tadā kruddha udgirantī payas tataḥ | jagāma  
sā bhayodvignā punar eva paṇin prati | payasas tasya paddhat-  
yā rathena harivāhanaḥ | gatvā jaghāna ca paṇin gāḥ ca tāḥ  
punar āharat).*

This story, as will be seen at once, cannot have formed the setting for RV. x. 108. The Saramā of the Bṛhaddevatā who betrays Indra and the gods for a mess of the stolen milk, and, beaten by Indra, shows him against her will the way to the Paṇis, is utterly different from the haughty Saramā of the Rig-Veda who refuses their offer of friendship (vs. 10, *nā 'hām veda bhrātṛtvām nō svartvām*).

We must therefore look elsewhere for the legendary setting of RV. x. 108. Sāyaṇa does not help us; for in his commentary on the hymn he has unfortunately been napping. Instead of following his excellent habit of supplying, by way of introduction or interwoven in his notes, the pertinent frame-story from some Brāhmanical source,—and whatever may be said against his exegesis, he must be given credit for wide and accurate reading in the Ṛuti-literature, not inferior to that of the Dutch scholars in their classics,—he is here satisfied with giving us a barren sketch of a few lines recounting that “when the cows of Bṛhaspati, Indra’s chaplain, had been driven off by certain Asuras called Paṇis, hirelings of an Asura by the name of Vala, and had been hidden in a cave, the divine bitch, Saramā, was sent by Indra, at Bṛhaspati’s request, in search of the cows. And she, having crossed a large stream and having come to Vala’s stronghold, discovered these cows in their hiding place. At this juncture the Paṇis, with friendly condescension, had the following conversation with her.” The barrenness of this introduction is so much the more provoking, because Sāyaṇa knew the version of the Saramā-story as given in the Ṣātyāyana Brāhmaṇa. Here certainly was the place to give in full this story, to which he briefly alludes in his note on RV. i. 62. 3 in these words: “Concerning this there is the following story (*ākhyāna*). The bitch of the gods was called Saramā. When the cows had been driven off by the Paṇis, Indra sent this Saramā in search of these cows, even as in this world a hunter would send forth his dog in search of game gone to the woods. And this Saramā spoke thus: ‘O Indra, I will go under this condition, that thou wilt give to our offspring the food belonging to these cows, viz., milk, etc.’ He said: ‘Yes.’ And so the Ṣātyāyanaka says: ‘Food-eating I make

thine offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows (*annādinīm te sarame prajāñ karomi yā no gā anvavindah*).<sup>1</sup> Then going she learned about the abode of the cows. And having learned it, she told it him. And having been informed about the cows, this Indra, slaying this Asura, regained these cows.”

If the Çāṭyāyana version of the legend has thus been lost to us by Sāyaṇa's negligence, the only other Brāhmaṇical version<sup>1</sup> of which I know is that of the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 438 ff.). The wording of the fragment of the Çāṭyāyanaka preserved by Sāyaṇa (on RV. 1. 62. 3) and just quoted is identical with JB. ii. 440. 2; and on the basis of the material which I collected in this Journal, xviii. pp. 15–48, we are entitled to infer a close similarity between the versions of the Çāṭ. B. and the JB., which latter I here subjoin.<sup>2</sup> It is given à propos of the *vyotistoma*, *gostoma*, and *āyustoma*, which in the order 1. *vyotistoma*, 2. *gostoma*, 3. *āyustoma*, 4. *gostoma*, 5. *āyustoma*, 6. *vyotistoma*, are distributed over the six days (=two tridua) of the *Abhiplava*-ceremony.<sup>3</sup>

JB. ii. 438. 1 : *atha ha vāi panayo nāmā 'surā' devānām gorakṣā āsuh. tābhir ahā 'pātastuh.*<sup>4</sup> *tā ha rasāyām nirudhya valenā 'pi dadhuh. 2. te devā atikupya lepus' suparne 'mā no gā anvicche' 'ti. tathe 'ti. sa hā 'nuprapapāta. 3. tā hā 'nv-ājagāma rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihitāh. tasmāi hā 'nvāgatāya sarpih kṣīram āmikṣām dadhī 'ty etad upanidadhuh. tasya ha suhita āsa. tam ho "cus suparnāi 'sa eva te balir bhaviṣyat*

<sup>1</sup> Nor does the legend seem to appear in the post-brāhmaṇical epics ; though the finding of Sītā by Hanumat is compared by H. Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 1893, p. 133) with Saramā's search of the cows.

<sup>2</sup> These passages, by the way, conclusively prove the correctness of Oldenberg's assumption (ZDMG. xxxix. 77): “Hierher (i. e. to the *ākhyāna*-hymns) möchte ich den Dialog von *Yama und Yamī* (x. 10) rechnen, und ebenso den der *Saramā und der Paṇis* (x. 108); wenn auch die Verse dieser Gespräche eine prosaische Ergänzung, eine Erzählung dessen was dem Gespräche vorausging und was ihm nachfolgte, vielleicht nicht unbedingt verlangen, so wird doch einem Ausleger, der die *Ākhyāna*-Form als eine von den vedischen Poeten gern und häufig gehandhabte anerkennt, die Annahme derselben auch für diese Sūktas sich wohl empfehlen.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AB. iv. 15; KB. xxi. 1f.; TS. vii. 4. 11; Kāth. xxxiii. 8; ÇB. xiii. 5. 4. 8, with Eggeling's note<sup>4</sup> on ÇB. iv. 5. 4. 2 = SBE. xxvi. p. 408, and Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> -āñ.

<sup>5</sup> pātastus.

<sup>6</sup> alikupalapus.

<sup>7</sup> -cchete.

etad annam mā naḥ pravoca iti. 4. sa ha punar āpapāta. tam ho "cus suparnā 'vido gā iti. kṛtiḥ cū gavām iti ho 'vāca. 5. eṣāi 'va kīrtir gavām iti tasya he 'ndro galam' pīlayann' uvāca goṣv evā 'ham kila tavo 'ṣuṣo mukham iti. sa ha dadhidrapsam vā "miksām vo 'dāsa. so 'yam babhūva yo 'yam vasantā bhū-tikaḥ' prajāyate.' 6. tam ha tac chaṣpā 'cīlajanma' te jīvanam bhūyād yo no gā anuvidya tā' na pravoca' iti. tasya hāi 'tad' grāmasya jaghanārdhe' yat pāpiṣṭham taj jīvanam.

439. 1. te saramām abruvan sarama imā nas tvaṁ gā anvicche 'ti. tathe 'ti sā hā 'nuprasasāra. sā ha rasām ājagāma.<sup>10</sup> 2. tām ho 'vāca ploṣye tvā gādhā<sup>11</sup> me bhaviṣyasi 'ti. plavasva me 'ti ho 'vāca na te gādhā<sup>11</sup> bhaviṣyāmī 'ti. 3. sā hā 'vācyā karṇāu ploṣyamāṇā sasāra. sā he "kṣām cakre kathām nu mā ṣunī plaveta hantā 'syāi gādhā<sup>12</sup> sānī 'ti. tām ho 'vāca mā mā ploṣṭhā gādhā<sup>12</sup> te bhaviṣyāmī 'ti. tathe 'ti. tasyāi ha gādhā<sup>12</sup> āsa. sā ha gādhenā 'tisasāra. 4. tū hā 'nvājagāma rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihitāḥ. tasyāi hā 'nvāgatāyāi tathāi 'va sarpiḥ kṣīram āmiksām dadhī 'ty etad upanīdadhuḥ<sup>14</sup> 5. sā ho 'vāca nā 'ham etāvad apriyā devānām. avidam yad vo 'ṣniyām.<sup>15</sup> ta u vāi devānām steyam kṛtvā carathāi 'tāsām vā aham gavām padavīr asmī. na mā lāpayiṣyadhve ne 'ndrasya gā upohariṣyadhva iti. 6. sā hā 'nāciṣy upasasāha. jarāyṁ apām<sup>16</sup> tad' viveda. tad dha cakhāda. tām hāi 'ka upajagāu tyam iva vāi ghnatī<sup>18</sup> saramā jāru khādātī 'ti. tad idam apy etarhi nivacanam tyam iva vāi ghnatī saramā jāru khādhatī 'ti. jarāyu ha sā tac cakhāda. 7. sā<sup>19</sup> ha punar āsasāra. tām ho "cus sarame 'vido gā iti.

440. 1. avidam iti ho 'vāce 'mā rasāyām antarvalenā 'pihitāḥ. tū yathā 'manyadhvam evam ājīhīrṣate 'ti. 2. tām he<sup>20</sup> 'ndra<sup>21</sup> uvācā<sup>22</sup> 'nnādīm are te sarame projām karomī<sup>23</sup> yā no gā anuvidya iti. te hāi 'te vidarbheṣu mācalās<sup>24</sup> sūrameyā api ha ṣūrdūlān<sup>25</sup> mārayanti. 3. te devā etam abhiplavam samabharan. tenā<sup>26</sup> 'bhyaplavanta. tad abhiplavasyā 'bhiplavatvam.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>1</sup> galem. <sup>2</sup> upigdayant. <sup>3</sup> vayo. <sup>4</sup> bhūmika.

<sup>5</sup> paprjāyate. <sup>6</sup> ṣvilajānma. <sup>7</sup> tā. <sup>8</sup> prav-. <sup>9</sup> jayan-.

<sup>10</sup> After this is added the evident gloss: eṣā ha vāi sā rasā eṣā 'rvāk samudrasya (genitive! cf. Delbr. A. S., p. 163, § 112) vāpāyatī(!).

<sup>11</sup> gāthā. <sup>12</sup> goyā. <sup>13</sup> Note the masc. <sup>14</sup> avoparidadhus.

<sup>15</sup> 'ṣniyān; the short ṣ also in the MBh., cf. Whitney, Roots, Verb-Forms, etc., s. v. aḥ, but a correction to ī seems probable.

<sup>16</sup> apāns. <sup>17</sup> tam. <sup>18</sup> snatī. <sup>19</sup> sā. <sup>20</sup> ha. <sup>21</sup> danra. <sup>22</sup> vā. <sup>23</sup> -mī.

<sup>24</sup> māc-. <sup>25</sup> lān. <sup>26</sup> tenenā. <sup>27</sup> 'bhiplavam.



The rest of the chapter is purely ritualistic. I subjoin a translation of the legend in the JB. version.

438. 1. Now the Asuras called Paṇis were the cowherds of the gods. They made away with them. At the Rasā they penned them up and hid them in a cave. 2. The gods, exceedingly wroth,<sup>1</sup> said: "O Eagle, search after these our cows." "Yes." He flew after them. 3. He came upon them hidden in a cave at the Rasā. Before him, when he had come, they placed this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. He was well sated with this. They said to him: "O Eagle, this shall be thy tribute, this food; do not betray us." He flew away again. They (the gods) said to him: "O Eagle, hast thou found our cows?" "What news is there about the cows?" he said. 5. "This news," said Indra, compressing the eagle's crop. "I for one am the mouth (to declare that) thou hast stayed among the cows." He (the eagle) threw up a drop of sour curds<sup>2</sup> or some clotted curds. That same became the camphor-plant<sup>3</sup> which grows here in spring. 6. Indra thus cursed him (the eagle): "May thy sustenance be of bad origin,<sup>4</sup> who, having found our cows, hast not informed us." Thus his sustenance is the worst that is (found) in the rear of a village.

439. 1. They said to Saramā: "O Saramā, do thou search after these our cows." "Yes." She set out after them. She came to the Rasā. 2. She said to her: "I shall swim thee (unless) thou wilt become fordable for me." "Swim me," she (the Rasā) said, "I shall not become fordable for thee." 3. She (Saramā) laying back her ears came forward in order to swim her. She (Rasā) considered: "How, indeed, should a bitch swim me? Come, I will be fordable for her." She (R.) said to her (S.): "Do not swim me; I will be fordable for thee." "Yes." There was a ford for her. By means of the ford she (S.) crossed over. 4. She came upon them (the cows) hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Before her when she had come they placed, just as (they had done) before, this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. 5. She said: "I am not so unfriendly to the gods. I have

<sup>1</sup> The emendation of the corrupt text is tentative only.

<sup>2</sup> Hemacandra's identification of *drapsa* with 'sour milk' may be the result of the abbreviation of a compound like this, of which Francke has collected examples in ZDMG. xliv. 481 and *Wiener Zeit. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* viii. 241; cf. also Geldner *Ved. Stud.* ii. 274.

<sup>3</sup> This emendation is a mere make-shift.

found what I may obtain of you. You, verily, have stolen from the gods: Truly of these cows I am the guide. You shall not make me prate, you shall not keep Indra's cows." She . . . prevailed. The outer membrane of the waters—that she found. That she split open. One cried out against her: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramā splits open the outer-membrane." Even now there is this reproach: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramā splits open the outer-membrane." For she did split open that membrane. 7. She came back again. They (the gods) asked her: "O Saramā, hast thou found the cows?" 440. 1. "I have found them," she said, "hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Be pleased to take them just as you thought." 2. Indra said to her: "Food-eating, wench, I make thy offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows." And indeed among the Vidarbans the *mācalas*<sup>1</sup>, descendants of Saramā, kill even tigers. 3. These gods prepared this Abhiplava-ceremony. By means of it they sailed over (*abhi + plu*). That is the etymology of the term Abhiplava.

It will be seen that chapters 439–440 above give an excellent setting for RV. x. 108. The correspondence between hymn and prose version is close even in details; the *atiṣkādo bhīyāsā tān na āvat tāthā rasdyū ataram pāyānsi* (RV. x. 108. 2.) is elaborated in JB. 439. 2–3; and the spirit of Saramā's reply to the offer of the Paṇis is alike in RV. x. 108. 10 and JB. 439. 5.

Without chapter 438, the story in the JB. version would tally exactly with the Rig-Vedic account. In both Saramā remains faithful to the gods, while in the Bṛhaddevatā she betrays them. This latter motif is retained in the JB. in the introductory chapter. But it is not Saramā who appears in the JB. in the rôle of a traitor, but the eagle, who is first sent out by the gods in search of the cows. If it should seem surprising and unnatural that it should yield to the temptation of a draught of milk, we must remember that the *haṅsa* has become proverbial in Indian literature for its ability to separate the milk from the water;<sup>4</sup> and, at VS.

<sup>1</sup> The next word is not clear to me, the reading is evidently faulty. What follows, especially the *tyam*, is also somewhat obscure.

<sup>2</sup> *jāru* = *jarāyu*, heretofore only in the compound *jāruja*, Ait. Up. v. 4.

<sup>3</sup> If the reading is correct, it may be the name of a breed of dogs. The compounds *karimācala* and *gajamācala* are given by grammarians in the sense of 'lion.'

<sup>4</sup> Professor Lanman in a paper read some years ago before the American Oriental Society, but not yet printed, has collected a large number of post-vedic passages dealing with this taste of the *haṅsa* for milk.

xix. 73, we read the same of the *kruñc* (*adbhyaḥ kṣtram vyapibat' kruññ āṅgirasō dhīyā*, where the Commentator, apparently for this very reason, assumes a transformation of the *kruñc* into a *huñsa*, noting *kruñ hañso bhūtva*).

I do not venture to determine the relation of these versions to each other. It might be surmised that the JB. version is an attempt to fuse the two conflicting legends of the Rig-Veda and the Bṛhaddevatā, keeping Saramā's character clean without sacrificing the motif of the betrayal of the gods. But such an assumption would, after all, rest on almost purely subjective grounds, and could no more be proved than the view that the Bṛhaddevatā-version is a condensation of the JB. form could be disproved.

#### II. The Rítual of Burial according to the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa.

To W. Caland's indefatigable industry we owe a very complete digest of the ancient Hindu Ritual of Burial,<sup>1</sup> based upon the (partly unpublished) texts of thirteen schools. A glance at Caland's sources (p. iv-x) will show the scarcity of *ṣṛuti*-texts dealing with the funeral rites. As such the Jāiminīya account is of some interest, while at the same time it is the oldest document of the school of the Sāmavedins for which the sūtras of Lātyāyana and Gāutama have hitherto been our earliest sources.

As in ÇB. the funeral rites are incidentally dealt with in the JB. in connection with a possible mortal illness of the sacrificer, his death being considered as one of many disturbances of the sacrifice which call for an expiation (*prāyaścitti*).

JB. 1. 46. 1. *sa yado 'patāpī syād yatrā 'sya samam' subhūmī-  
spastam' syāt tad brūyād iha me 'gnim' manthate 'tī 'cvaro hā  
'gado bhavitoh. 2. yady u tan na yad asmāl lokāt preyād athāi  
'nam ādadīran. 3. nānāsthālyor agnī' opya' hareyur anvāhā-  
ryupacanād ulmukam. 4. ādadīran yajñapātrāṇi sarpir apo*

<sup>1</sup> On *vi + √ pā* see Oldenberg, GGN. 1893, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche*, in Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. Deel i. No. 6. Amsterdam, 1896. In the following I refer to this paper by 'Caland' with the page added. The pitṛmedhasūtras of Bāudhāyana, Hiraṇyakeçin and Gāutama have lately been edited, also by Caland, in the *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. x. no. 3, Leipzig, 1896. For a brief summary of the burial rites see also Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, 1897, p. 87-97.

<sup>3</sup> B. *sam*.

<sup>4</sup> A. *sambhūti*-.

<sup>5</sup> -*gni*; read, perhaps, -*nīn*.

<sup>6</sup> B. C. -*i*.

<sup>7</sup> A. *vopya*; B. *devya*; C. *tapya*.

*dārūṇy anustaraṇīm ksuram nakhānikṛtanam.*<sup>1</sup> 5. *te yanti yatrā 'sya samam subhūmispaṣṭam' bhavati. tad asyā 'gnīn viharanti.*

“If he (the agnihotrin) should fall ill—where he may have a level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot, he should say: ‘Here churn my fire.’ It is possible, indeed, that he may recover. 2. If not, if he should depart this world, then they should take him. 3. After throwing two fires into two separate pots, they should snatch a fire-brand from the anvāhāryapacana-fire. 4. They should take the sacrificial vessels, liquid butter, water, wood, the anustaraṇī-victim, a razor, a pair of nail-scissors. 5. They go where he has a level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot. Thus they transfer his fires.”

1. On the transfer of the fires of the sick āhitāgni in the hope that he may recover, see Caland, p. 5, § 1 with note<sup>11</sup>.—*subhūmispaṣṭam* here and in 5 offers difficulties. As second member of the compound *-spaṣṭam* might be conjectured, for if *subhūmispaṣṭam* were ‘plainly a favorable spot’ the order of the members of the compound ought to be reversed, as in *spaṣṭākṣara*, *spaṣṭāmbuj*. For *subhūmi* compare Caland’s critical note<sup>5</sup> on Hiraṇyakeçin’s Pitṛmedha S. p. 33<sup>3</sup> and Gobh. GS. i. 4. 5, *subhūmim kṛtvā*, with the Commentary, *subhūmim çobhanām bhūmim kṛtvā*. The requirements for a *subhūmi*, of which evenness is one, are collected by Caland, p. 81, § 14.

3. Cf. Caland, § 11, p. 19 ff. As to the transfer of the sacrificial fires, the JB. ritual is peculiar in taking along two (the *āhavantiya* and the *gārhapatiya*) fires in two separate pots, but a fire-brand from the *dakṣiṇāgni*. According to the other texts all three fires are taken along in separate pots.—*agnī opya* as in ÇB. xi. 5. 1. 13 *tasmāi ha sthālyām opyā 'gnīn pradaduḥ*. Our text apparently knows nothing of the circumstantial procedure of generating the three fires within the pots (such as the ÇB. describes; Caland p. 19), but seems to imply that they were simply put into the vessels.—*yajñapātrāṇi*, etc., cf. Caland, p. 21; on the *anustaraṇī* especially, p. 22, note<sup>14</sup>.

47. 1. *athā 'syām diçi kūpam khātva vapanti keçaçmaçrūṇi.*  
2. *uṭvā<sup>4</sup> keçaçmaçrūṇi nakhān nikṛtanti.* 3. *nakhān nikṛtya nīrāntram<sup>5</sup> kurvanti.* 4. *nīrāntram<sup>6</sup> kṛtvā nispuṛiṣam kurvanti.*  
5. *nispuṛiṣam<sup>7</sup> kṛtvā pānsubhiḥ kūpe puṛiṣam abhisamvapanti.*

<sup>1</sup> A. *kṛtta-*; B. C. *kṛtānatten*.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. *sambhūtisp-*; B. *sumisp-*; H. *subhūmasp-*.

<sup>3</sup> I do not think that the parallels adduced there are weighty enough to warrant a change of the MSS. reading.

<sup>4</sup> A. *u.*

<sup>5</sup> A. B. *-tam.*

<sup>6</sup> *-tam.*

<sup>7</sup> A. *-phu-*.

*pāpmānam evā 'sya tat pracchādayanti. 6. pracchādya<sup>1</sup> 'ntrāṇi pratyavadāyāi 'nam āharanti. 7. tam antarenā 'gnīn nidhāya gārhapatya ājyaṁ vilāpyo 'tpūya<sup>2</sup> caturgrhītam grhītvā gatvā "havanīye samidvaty anvārabdhe<sup>3</sup> juhoty ayaṁ vāi tvad asmād asi tvam. etad ayaṁ te yonir asya yonis tvam. pitā putrāya lokakṛj jātavedo nayā<sup>4</sup> hy enaṁ sukṛtāṁ yatra loko 'smād vāi tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatāṁ svāhe 'ti. 8. so 'ta āhutimayo manomayo prāṇamayaç cakṣurmayaç çrotramayo vāñmayo rñmayo yajurmayas sāmamayo brahmamayo hiraṇmayo<sup>5</sup> 'mṛtas sambhavati.*

47. 1. "Then, having in this quarter dug a hole, they cut the hair and the beard. 2. Having cut the hair and the beard, they trim the nails. 3. Having trimmed the nails, they take out the bowels. 4. Having taken out the bowels, they remove the fæces. 5. Having removed the fæces they (throw them) in the hole (and) carefully cover them with sand ; thus they cover his evil. 6. Having covered them, having replaced the bowels, they take him. 7. Having deposited him between the fires, having melted the ājya-butter over the gārhapatya-fire and purified it, having taken four ladlings, going up, he makes oblation in the āhavanīya-fire which is supplied with kindling wood, while he touches (the corpse, with the words) : 'He verily is of thee, of him thou art ; thus he is thy womb, his womb thou art. (As) a father unto (his) son, O world-making Jātavedas, do thou lead him where the world of the righteous is ; verily, from him thou wast born, let him be born of thee ; svāha.' 8. He thence comes into being possessed of oblation, of mind, of breath, of sight, of hearing, of speech, of ṛc, of yajus, of sāmān, of brahman, of gold, immortal."

1. ff. The cleaning and dressing of the corpse takes place at the burial-spot as with the Rāṇāyanīyas and Mādhyāndinas (Caland, p. 89, § 20), not previous to the conveyance of the body to the place of burial (Caland, p. 14, § 7). This accounts for some of the implementations taken along by the funeral procession (above, JB. 46. 4).

4. 5. The disemboweling of the corpse, etc., is not approved of by the other schools (Caland, p. 15) which mention it, save by the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa as quoted in Hiraṇyakeçin's Piṭṛmedhasūtra (ed. Caland) p. 37. 3, *athāi 'nam udare vidārya nīrāntram niṣpurīṣaṁ*

<sup>1</sup> A. -cchālyā ; B.C. -kṣaly-. <sup>2</sup> A. lp- <sup>3</sup> B. ārabdhe. <sup>4</sup> sic.

<sup>5</sup> hiraṇdhmaiā ; C. hiraṇmayoyā.

*kṛtvā 'vaṣe puriṣam avadhāya prakṣālya pratyavadhāya sarpiṣā pūrayati 'ti cāṭyāyanakam.* (Hiraṇyakeçin opposes this practice much on the same ground as the ÇB. xii. 5. 2. 5: *prajā hā 'sya kṣo-dhukā bhavati*). We thus have here another point of contact between the JB. and the ÇĀṭ.B. But it seems noteworthy that the direction of the ÇĀṭ.B. with reference to the *anas* on which the corpse is conveyed to the burial-place, viz. *kṛṣṇagavaṃ syāt* (quoted in Hiraṇyakeçin's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 35. 6, *anasā vahanti 'ty eke kṛṣṇagavaṃ syād iti cāṭyāyanakam*) has no parallel in the JB.<sup>1</sup>

7. Cf. Bāudhāyana's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 4, 6 *athāi 'nam ādāyā 'ntarvedī prākçirasam āsādayanty atra havir āsādyata ity atha gārhapatyā ājyam vilāpyo 'tpūya sruci caturghṛtaṃ ghṛtvā pre-tasya dakṣiṇaṃ bāhum anvārabhya juhōti.* Cf. on the whole, Caland, p. 13.—The words uttered during the oblation are not RV. x. 14. 1. which Bāudhāyana prescribes (p. 4, 10) but almost identical with the mantras Çāṅkh. ÇS. iv. 14. 36, *ayam vāi tvat tvam asmād ayam te yonis tvam asya yonih. jātavedo vahasvāi 'nam sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ. ayam vāi tvam ajanayad ayam tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svāha*, and TĀ. vi. 1. 24, *ayam vāi tvam asmād adhi tvam etad ayam vāi tad asya yonir asi. vaiçvānaraḥ putraḥ pitre lokakṛj jātavedo vahe 'nam sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ.* Cf. also TĀ. vi. 2. 8 *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayam jāyatām punaḥ. agnaye vaiçvā-narāya svargāya lokāya svāha*; TĀ. vi. 4. 12, *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'sy ayam tvad adhi jāyatām. agnaye v. s. l. s.*; Kāuç. S. 81. 30, *asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svāha*; Āçv. G.S. iv. 3. 27, *asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhi jāyatām. asāu svargāya lokāya svāha.* But this mantra, among the Tāittiriyas, follows the *upoṣaṇa*, Caland, p. 62, § 32 a with note<sup>21</sup>. Here also belongs JB. i. 2. (second half) *tad yadā vāi mana utkrā-mati yadā prāṇo yadā cakṣur yadā çrotram yadā vāg etān evā 'gnin abhigacchati. athā 'sye 'dam çarīram eteṣv evā 'gnīṣv anupravīdh-yanty asmād vāi tvam ajāyathā eṣa tvaj jāyatām svāhe 'ti.* so 'ta āhutimayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaç cakṣur-mayaç çrotramayo vāñmaya ṛtmayo yajurmayo sāmamayo brah-mamayo hiraṇmayo 'mṛtas sambhavati. amṛtā hāi 'vā 'sya prāṇā bhavanty amṛtaṃ çarīram idam kurute. so 'mṛtatvaṃ ga-cchati ya evaṃ vidvān agnihotraṃ juhōti.

JB. i. 48. 1. *athāi 'tām citām<sup>2</sup> cinvanti. tasyām enam ādadha-ti.* 2. *tasya nūsikayos sruvāu nidadhyād dakṣiṇahaste juhūm*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the quotation from the ÇĀṭ.B. given by Lāt.ÇS. i. 3. 24 with reference to the *subrahmaṇyā*-ceremony is without a parallel in the JB. (cf. JAOS. xviii. 84). But I am doubtful whether by *Cāṭyāyanaka* the Brāhmaṇa is necessarily meant. It is quite possible that the term includes the Sūtras. Some quotations from the *Cāṭyāyanaka* in the *Upagranthasūtra* and in Bāudhāyana's G.S., to which Caland was kind enough to direct my attention, have a distinct sūtra-tone.

<sup>2</sup> A. *cintām.*

*savya upabhṛtam urasi dhruvām mukhe 'gnihotrahavanīm  
 çirṣataç camasam ilopavahanam karnayoḥ prāçitraharaṇe  
 udare pātrīm' samavattadhānīm' āṇḍayor dṛṣadupale çirṣne  
 çamyām upasthe kṛṣṇājinam anupṛṣṭham' sphyam pārçvayor  
 musale ca çūrpe ca patta ulūkhalam. 3. pariçistāni yajñapā-  
 trāny upari dadhati. 4. apo mṛṇmayāny abhyavaharanti'  
 dadaty evā 'yasmayāni. 5. athāi 'nam' sarpiṣā 'bhyutpūrayanti  
 yajñapātreṣu sarpir āsiñcanti.*

"1. Now they construct the funeral pyre. On it they place him. 2. He should put down on his nostrils two sruva-lades; in the right hand the juhū-ladle; in the left (hand) the upabhṛt-ladle; on the chest the dhruvā-ladle; on the mouth the agnihotra-ladle; on the head the camasa-beaker for carrying the ilā; on the ears the two prāçitra-vessels; on the abdomen the vessel containing the cuttings; on the testicles the upper and the lower mill-stones; on the penis the wedge; on the pudenda the skin of the black antelope; behind the back the wooden sword; on the ribs two pestles and two winnowing baskets; at the feet the mortar. 3. The other sacrificial vessels he puts on top. 4. They throw the earthen (vessels) into the water, while they give away the iron (vessels). 5. Then they fill him up with liquid butter. They pour liquid butter into the sacrificial vessels."

1. The directions for the construction of the funeral pyre, etc., are here omitted. Cf. Caland, p. 35 ff. § 17. The text passes on at once to the *pātracayana* (Caland, p. 49, § 27). The similarities and differences in the distribution of the implements over the body will be seen from the following tables.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PARTS OF BODY.

Head (*çirasi, çirṣataḥ, çirastah, çirṣan*): kapālāni A, H, B, Ç; kapālāni samoptadhānaḥ ca camasam L; kapālāni samavattadhānaḥ ca camasam G; camasaḥ praṇītāpraṇayanaḥ kapālāni cāi 'ke Kāt; praṇītāpraṇayanaḥ camasam B; camasaḥ praṇītāpraṇayanaḥ ÇB; camasam ilopavahanam J; iḍācamasam K; upasādanīyaḥ kūrcaḥ B; upasādanīyam iḍāpātram ca H.

Hairtufts (*çikhāyām*): vedam H.

<sup>1</sup> -īm. <sup>2</sup> A. -ttayā-. <sup>3</sup> B. -ṣṭam; C. -ṣyam. <sup>4</sup> A. abhyahar-. <sup>5</sup> A. om.

<sup>6</sup> Abbreviations: A = Āçv. GS.; B = Bāudhāyana's pitṛmedhasūtra; Ç = Çaṅkh. ÇS.; ÇB = Çatap. Br.; G = Gāutama's pitṛmedhasūtra; H = Hiraṇyakeçin's pitṛmedhasūtra; Kāt = Kātyāyana's ÇS.; L = Lāṭy. ÇS.; J = Jāiminīya Br. A few other texts referred to by Caland were not accessible to me.

- Forehead (*lalāṭe*): *ekakapālam* H, B; *prāçitraharaṇam* L, K, G.  
 Eyes (*akṣṇoḥ*): *hiraṇyaçakalāv ājyasruvāu vā* H, B.  
 Ears (*karṇayoḥ*): *prāçitraharaṇe* J, ÇB, Kāt; *prāçitraharaṇe bhittvā cāi 'kam* A, H; *prāçitraharaṇam bhittvā* B; *prāçitraharaṇam [karṇe daksīṇe] pranītapraṇayanam [karṇe savye]* Ç; *sruvāu [nāsikayor vā]* G.  
 Nostrils (*nāsikayoḥ*): *sruvāu* J, ÇB, Kāt, Ç, L, H, B; [*karṇayor vā*] G; *sruvāu bhittvā cāi 'kam* A; *sruvam* K.  
 Mouth (*mukhe*): *agnihotrahavaṇīm* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, G, H, B, K.  
 Teeth (*datṣu*): *grāvṇaḥ* A, Ç; [*yadi grāvāṇo bhavanti*] H.  
 Jaws (*hanvoḥ*): *ulūkhalamusale* H.  
 Throat (*kaṇṭhe*): *agnihotrahavaṇīm* Ç; *dhruvām* K.  
 Trunk  
 Shoulders (*aṅṣe*): [*dakṣīṇe*] *mekṣaṇam [savye] piṣṭodvapanīm* B.<sup>1</sup>  
 Chest (*urasi*): *dhruvām* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, Ç, A, G; *dhruvām araṇī ca* H, B; *puroḍāçam* K.  
 Waist (*madhye*): *camasam* H.  
 Ribs (*pārçvayoḥ*): *çūrpe* ÇB, Kāt; *çūrpe chittvā vāi 'kam* H, B<sup>2</sup>; *musale ca çūrpe ca* J; *pātryāu* Ç; *sphyopaveṣāu* G; [*pārçve dakṣīṇe*] *sphyam* A, K, Ç; [*pārçve savye*] *upaveṣam* K; *kṛṣṇājīnam* Ç; *agnihotrahavaṇīm* A.  
 Groin (*vañkṣṇayoḥ*): *sāmnāyyakumbhyāu* B, [*yadi sāmnayati*] H.  
 Navel (*nābhyām*): *ājyasthālīm* H.  
 Abdomen (*udare*): *pātrīm* L, K, G; *pātrīm samavattadhānam ca camasam* A, *pātrīm samavattadhānīm* J, ÇB, Kāt; *samavattadhānīm* Ç; *piṣṭasamyavanīm pātrīm* H; *dārupātrīm* B; [*ku kṣyo ḥ*]<sup>3</sup> *camasāu sāmnāyyāpidhānīm ce 'ḍopahavanam ca* B.  
 Pudenda (*upasthe*): *kṛṣṇājīnam* J, L, G; *çamyām* A; *araṇī* Ç.  
 Penis (*çṭṇe*): *çamyām* J, ÇB, Kāt; *vṛṣāravam çamyām ca* H, B.  
 Scrotum (*āṇḍayoḥ, vṛṣaṇayoḥ*): *araṇī* Kāt; *dṛṣadupale* J, H, B; [*āṇḍayor ante*] *vṛṣāravāv anvag ulūkhalam ca musalam ca* ÇB.  
 Hand (*haste, pāṇau daksīṇe*): *juhūm* J, B, K, A, G, Ç, L; *juhūm sphyam* ÇB; *juhūm . . . sphyam ca* Kāt; *sphyam juhūm ca* H.  
 (*haste, pāṇau savye*): *upabhṛtam* J, K, A, H, B, ÇB, Kāt, L, Ç, G.  
 Leg  
 Thighs (*çronyoḥ*): *çakaṭam* K; *anvāhāryasthālīm carusthālīm ca* B.

<sup>1</sup> The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhṛt* on both shoulders.

<sup>2</sup> Read *çūrpe* for *çūrpaṃ* in Bāudh. p. 10, 16.

<sup>3</sup> The Mānavas, according to Caland, place here the *puroḍāça* (-*pātri*.)



- Loins** (*ūrvoḥ*): *araṇi* A; *ulūkhalamusale* B; [*aṣṭhivatoḥ ca*] Ç. (*antivreno* "rū): *anyāni yajñapātrāṇi* ÇB, Kāt, K.  
*(antarā, antareṇa sakthini)*: *avaçiṣṭāni* H; *avaçiṣṭāni pātrāṇi* B; *çamyādr̥ṣadupale yac ca nā* "deṣ(lyā)maḥ<sup>1</sup> L, G.  
*(anusaktham, anusakthi)*: *musalam* L, G.
- Upper leg** (*ukhasya dakṣiṇasya dakṣiṇataḥ*): *ulūkhalam* L, G.
- Knee-cap** (*aṣṭhivatoḥ*): *ulūkhalamusalam* K; *ulūkhalamusale* [*ūrvoḥ ca*] Ç.
- Lower leg** (*jaṅghayoḥ*): *ulūkhalamusale* A.
- Feet** (*pattaḥ, pādayoḥ*): *ulūkhalam* J; *agnihotrāpātrāṇi* Ç; *upāvaharaṇīyam kūrcaṃ* H; *upāvaharaṇīyam* B; *agnihotrasthālim ajyasthālim ca* B; *çūrpam* L, K; *çūrpe bhittvā cāi* 'kam A; *çakaṭaçūrpe* G; *çūrpaçakaṭe* Ç.
- Back** (*anupr̥ṣṭham, pr̥ṣṭhe*): *sphyam* J, B; *kṛṣṇājīnam . . . pra-stīrya . . . tasminn enam . . . nipadya* ÇB.
- Indefinite**: *upari pariçiṣṭāni yajñapātrāṇi (dadhati)* J.

## 2. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO IMPLEMENTS.

- agnihotrahavaṇim*: *kaṇṭhe* Ç; *pārçve savye* A; *mukhe* J, ÇB, Kāt, L, G, H, B, K.
- agnihotrāpātrāṇi*: *pattaḥ* Ç.
- agnihotrasthālim*: *pādayoḥ* B.
- anvāhāryasthālim*: *çronyoḥ* B.
- araṇi*: *urasi* B, H; *ūrvoḥ* A; *vṛṣaṇayoḥ* Kāt; *upasthe* Ç.
- avaçiṣṭāni, pariçiṣṭāni, anyāni yajñapātrāṇi; yac ca nā* "deṣ(lyā)maḥ<sup>1</sup>: *antareṇa sakthini* L, G, B; *antarā sakthini* H; *antareṇo* "rū ÇB, Kāt, K; *upari* J.
- ājyasthālim*: *pādayoḥ* B; *nābhyām* H.
- ājyasruvāu*: *akṣṇoḥ* H, B.
- idācamasam*<sup>2</sup>: *çirasi* K.
- idāpātram*: *çirastāḥ* H.
- idopavahanam (camasam)*: *çūrṣataḥ* J; *kukṣyoḥ* B.
- upabḥṛtam*: *haste savye* J, H, B, Kāt, K, A; *pāṇāu savye* ÇB, Ç, G, L.<sup>3</sup>
- upala v. dr̥ṣadupale*.
- upaveṣam*: *pārçve savye* K. Cf. *sphyopaveṣāu*: *pārçvayoḥ* G.
- upasādānīyam (kūrcaṃ)*: *çirastāḥ* B, H.
- upāvaharaṇīyam (kūrcaṃ)*: *pattaḥ* B, H.
- ulūkhalam*: *pattaḥ* J; *ukhasya dakṣiṇasya dakṣiṇataḥ* L, G.
- ulūkhalamusale*: *jaṅghayoḥ* A; *aṣṭhivatoḥ* K; *ūrvoḥ aṣṭhivatoḥ ca* Ç; *ūrvoḥ* B; *hanvoḥ* H; *anvag āṇḍayor ante* ÇB.
- ekakapālam*<sup>4</sup>: *lalāṭe* H, B.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Caland's note on Gāutama, p. 90. <sup>2</sup> = *idāpātri*, Caland, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabḥṛt* on both shoulders.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Caland, p. 58, note<sup>10</sup>.

- kapālāni*: *çirasi* H, G, L, Ç, B, A; [*kapālāni cāi 'ke*] Kāt. Cf. also *ekakapāla*.
- kumbhī*, v. *sānuāyākumbhyāu*.
- kūrca*, v. *upasādanīya* and *upāvaharaṇīya*.
- kṛṣṇājīnam*: *upasthe* J, L, G; . . . *prastīrya* . . . *tasminn enam* . . . *nīpadya* ÇB; *pārçve savye* Ç.
- grāvṇaḥ*: *datsu* A, Ç, [*yadi grāvāṇo bhavanti*] H.
- camasam*: *madhye* H. Cf. also *idācamasa*, *iḍopavahana*, *praṇītā-praṇayana*, *samavattadhāna*, *samoṭtadhāna*.
- carusthālīm*: *çronyoḥ* B.
- juhūm*: *hasie dakṣiṇe* J, H, K, A, B, Kāt; *pāṇdu dakṣiṇe* ÇB, L, Ç, G<sup>1</sup>.
- dārupātrīm*<sup>2</sup>: *udare* B.
- dṛṣṭadupale*: *āṇḍayoḥ* J, B, H; *antareṇa sakthini* L, G; *amā putraḥ kurvīta* A. K.<sup>3</sup>
- dhruvām*: *urasi* J, ÇB, Kāt, G, L, Ç, A, B, H; *kaṇṭhe* K.
- pātrīm*<sup>4</sup>: *udare* A, K, L, G.
- pātryāu*<sup>4</sup>: *pārçvayoḥ* Ç. Cf. also *agnihotra**pātrāṇi*, *iḍāpātra*, *dārupātri*, *piṣṭasamyavanī*, *piṣṭodvapanī*, *puroḍāça*, *samavattadhānī*.
- piṣṭasamyavanīm*<sup>4</sup> (*pātrīm*): *udare* H.
- piṣṭodvapanīm*<sup>4</sup>: *aṅse savye* B.
- puroḍāçam*<sup>4</sup>: *urasi* K.<sup>5</sup>
- praṇītāpraṇayanam* (*camasam*): *çirṣan* ÇB; *çirasi* Kāt; *çirastah* B; *karṇe savye* Ç.
- prāçitraharaṇam*: [*bhittvā*] *karṇayoḥ* B; *karṇe dakṣiṇe* Ç; *lalāḷe* L, G, K<sup>6</sup>.
- prāçitraharaṇe*: *karṇayoḥ* J, ÇB, Kāt; [*bhittvā cāi 'kam*] H.
- musalam*: *anusaktham* L; *anusakthi* G.
- musale*: *pārçvayoḥ* J. Cf. also *ulūkhalamusale*.
- mekṣaṇam*: *aṅse dakṣiṇe* B.
- vṛṣāravam*<sup>7</sup>: *çigne* H, B.
- vṛṣāravāu*: *āṇḍayor ante* ÇB.
- vedam*: *çikhāyām* H.<sup>8</sup>
- çakaṣam*: *çronyoḥ* K; *pādayoḥ* G. Cf. also *çūrpaçakaḷe*.
- çakaṣaçūrpe*: *padayoḥ* G.
- çamyām*: *çigne* J, B, H, Kāt; *çignasyā 'nte* ÇB; *upasthe* A; *antareṇa sakthini* L, G.
- çūrpaṃ*: *pādayoḥ* Ç, L, K.
- çūrpe*: *pārçvayoḥ* ÇB, Kāt, J, [*chittvā vāi 'kam*] B; *pādayoḥ* [*bhittvā cāi 'kam*] A. Cf. also *çakaṣaçūrpe*.

<sup>1</sup> The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the *juhū* and *upabhṛt* on both shoulders.

<sup>2</sup> = *iḍāpātri*, Caland, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Caland, p. 51f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the discussion of these vessels in Caland, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> The Mānavas, according to Caland, *kukṣyoḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> So also, according to Caland, the Mānavas.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Caland, p. 52. <sup>8</sup> The Mānavas, according to Caland, on the head.

*çürpaçakaṭe* : *pādayoḥ Ç.*

*samavattadhānim*<sup>1</sup> (*pātrim*) : *udare J, ÇB, Kāt, Ç.*<sup>2</sup>

*samavattadhānam*<sup>3</sup> (*camasam*) : *udare A ; çirasi G.*

*samoptadhānanam* (*camasam*) : *çirasi L.*

*sāhnāyyakumbhyāu* : *vañkṣṇayoḥ B, H.*<sup>4</sup>

*sāhnāyyāpidhanim* : *kukṣyoḥ B.*

*sphyam* : *anuprṣṭham J ; prṣṭhe B ; pāṇāu dakṣiṇe ÇB ; dakṣiṇa-haste Kāt ; haste dakṣiṇe H ; pārçve dakṣiṇe A, K, Ç. Cf. also sphyopaveṣāu under upaveṣa.*

*sthāli*, v. *agnihotrasthāli*, *anvāhāryasthāli*, *ājyasthāli*, *carusthāli*.  
*sruvam* : *nāsikayoḥ K.*

*sruvāu* : *nāsikayoḥ karṇayor vā G ; nāsikayoḥ J, ÇB, Kāt, L, B, H, C, [bhittvā cāi 'kam] A. Cf. also ājyasruvāu.*

The differences between the JB. and the other younger Sāman-texts are noteworthy, see under *avaçiṣṭāni*, *ulūkhalam*, *dṛṣadupale*, *prāçitraharaṇe* and *-nam*, *musale*, *çamyām*, *çürpe* with *çürpam* and *çakaçaçürpe*, *samavattadhānim* and *-nam*, *sphyam* and *sphyopaveṣāu*.

3. Cf. Caland p. 52 in fin.

JB. 1. 49. 1. *athāi 'lām anustaranīm ānayanti. 2. tām prokṣya trir apasulam<sup>5</sup> paryānāyya kūṭe<sup>6</sup> hanyūt.<sup>7</sup> pradakṣiṇam hāi 'ke paryāṇayanti.<sup>8</sup> tad u tathā nu kuryūt. 3. tasyāi vapām<sup>9</sup> utkhidya çirṣṇi<sup>10</sup> parivyayanti<sup>11</sup> hastayor matasni<sup>12</sup> hrdaye hrdayam bāhvor bāhū.<sup>13</sup> yathāṅgam eve 'tarāny āṅgāni vicinivanti.<sup>14</sup> 4. athāi 'nam carmaṇā prornvanti svayā tanvā samṛdhya sve 'ti. 5. saṁstīryo<sup>15</sup> 'pādīpayanti. 6. sa tathāi 'va cikīrṣed yathāi 'nam āhavanīyaḥ pruthamo gaocchet tad enām devalokaḥ pratyāgacchaty atha yathā 'nvāhāryapacanas tad enām pīrlokaḥ pratyāgacchaty atha yathā gārhapatyas tathā 'emin<sup>16</sup> loke prajayā ca<sup>17</sup> paçubhiç ca pratītiṣṭhati.*

7. *tasyo 'pādīptasya dhūma eva çarīram dhunoti.<sup>18</sup> sa yād dhunoti<sup>19</sup> tasmād dhunaḥ.<sup>18</sup> dhuno<sup>18</sup> ha vāi nāmāi 'saḥ. tam dhūma iti parokṣam ācakṣate parokṣeṇū<sup>19</sup> 'va. parokṣapriyū iva hi vāi<sup>20</sup> devāḥ. 8. dhūmād vūi rātrim apyeti rātriyū ahar ahno<sup>21</sup> apocchantīpakṣam<sup>22</sup> apocchantīpakṣād<sup>23</sup> āpūryamānapakṣam*

<sup>1</sup> = *idāpātrī*, Caland, p. 51. <sup>2</sup> So also the Mānavas, according to Caland.

<sup>3</sup> = *idāpātrī*, Caland, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> The Mānavas, according to Caland, on the abdomen.

<sup>5</sup> B.C. *-līm.* <sup>6</sup> A. *-ṣo.* <sup>7</sup> A. *nahanyām.* <sup>8</sup> A. *payā-*. <sup>9</sup> A. *vacām.*

<sup>10</sup> *-sī.* <sup>11</sup> *parivay-*. <sup>12</sup> B. *mṛtasnim* ; C. *matasī.* <sup>13</sup> B.C. *bahma.*

<sup>14</sup> A. *cinvati.* <sup>15</sup> A. *saṁsthīyo.* <sup>16</sup> A. *gnim asmin.* <sup>17</sup> A. om.

<sup>18</sup> All MSS. have short *u.* <sup>19</sup> A.B. *-e.* <sup>20</sup> A.B. om. <sup>21</sup> B.C. *āhho.*

<sup>22</sup> A. *porcantiṣpakṣam* ; B.C. *pocchantīpakṣam.*

<sup>23</sup> A. *evoreanticakṣād* ; B.C. *apocchantīcakṣād.*

āpūryamānapakṣān māsam. te atra māse<sup>1</sup> ṣarīram cā "suṣ  
ca saṅgacchāte. 9. tam<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>3</sup> rtūnām<sup>4</sup> eko yaḥ kūtahasī raṣ-  
minā pṛtyavetya pṛcchati ko 'si. puruṣe 'ti.

50. 1. tam pratibrūyād

vicakṣaṇād ṛtavo reta ābhṛtam

ardhamāsyam<sup>5</sup> prasutāt pūtryāvata

iti. yad ado<sup>6</sup> vicakṣaṇam somaṁ rājānam juhvati tat tat.

tam mā puṁsi<sup>7</sup> kartary erayadhvam<sup>8</sup>

iti. puṁsi<sup>7</sup> hy enam<sup>9</sup> etat kartary erayante.<sup>10</sup>

puṁsaḥ kartur<sup>11</sup> mātary āsiṣikta<sup>12</sup>

iti. mātari hy enam āsiñcati.

sa upajāya<sup>13</sup> upajāyamānas

trayodaṣena dvādaṣopamāsa

iti. eṣa trayodaṣo ya eṣa tapati.

saṁ tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta ma<sup>14</sup> ṛtavo 'mṛtam<sup>15</sup> āna-  
yadhvam dvādaṣatrayodaṣena pitrā tayā<sup>16</sup> mātrū<sup>17</sup> tayā ṣad-  
dhayā tenā 'nnādyena tena satyena. ahar me pitū<sup>17</sup> rātrir<sup>18</sup>  
mātā. satyam asmi.<sup>19</sup> tam ma ṛtavo 'mṛtam<sup>20</sup> ānayadhvam<sup>21</sup>  
iti. 2. tam ha rtava ānayante. yathā vidvān avidvānsam<sup>22</sup>  
yathā jānann<sup>23</sup> jānantam<sup>24</sup> evam hāi 'nam<sup>25</sup> ṛtava<sup>26</sup> ānayante.<sup>27</sup>  
tam hā 'tyarjayante.<sup>28</sup> 3. sa hāi 'ṣa na manusyo ya evam veda  
devānām ha vāi sa eko ya evamvit. 4. tam ha<sup>29</sup> manojavasah  
pitarah ca pitāmahaḥ ca pratyāgacchanti tataḥ kiṁ na āhārṣir  
iti. 5. tām pratibrūyād yat kiṁ ca puṇyam<sup>30</sup> akaram<sup>31</sup> tad yuṣ-  
mākam iti. tasya putrā dāyam upayanti pitaras sādhuḥkṛtyām<sup>32</sup>  
dviṣantaḥ pāpakṛtyām. sa evam etat tredhā<sup>33</sup> vibhajyāi 'tasya  
salokatām apyeti ya eṣa tapati.

"1. Then they bring that anustaraṇi-victim. 2. After sprinkling  
it and having caused it to be led around three times to the left,  
he should deal it a blow against the forehead. Some indeed lead  
it around to the right. But let him not do so. 3. Cutting out  
its omentum they envelop his head with it; (they place) the kid-

<sup>1</sup> A. -o. <sup>2</sup> A.C. tam. <sup>3</sup> A.C. aha. <sup>4</sup> A. ānām; B.C. rtrānām.

<sup>5</sup> All MSS. -māsam; and prasutāñ. <sup>6</sup> A. edā. <sup>7</sup> -si. <sup>8</sup> B.C. or-.

<sup>9</sup> A. inserts iti m. <sup>10</sup> A. orayanti. <sup>11</sup> karttar.

<sup>12</sup> All MSS. have this sandhi.

<sup>13</sup> All MSS. have the sandhi upajāyo 'paj-.

<sup>14</sup> A. mām. <sup>15</sup> mṛta. <sup>16</sup> A. om. <sup>17</sup> A. pikā. <sup>18</sup> A. rātrīm.

<sup>19</sup> B.C. repeat satyam asmi. <sup>20</sup> A. mṛta. <sup>21</sup> A. āra-. <sup>22</sup> vidvānsa.

<sup>23</sup> A. om.; B.C. jānañ. <sup>24</sup> jānantam.. <sup>25</sup> C. 'va. <sup>26</sup> A. om.

<sup>27</sup> A. -ta. <sup>28</sup> tyarjay-. <sup>29</sup> A. aha; C. ubha; B. maha. <sup>30</sup> B.C. -ñ.

<sup>31</sup> B.C. kar-. <sup>32</sup> A. -kṛtvā; B.C. -kṛtyā. <sup>33</sup> A. tedhā.

neys in his hands, the heart on his heart, the fore-legs on his arms. They severally arrange the other limbs on his corresponding limbs. 4. Then they cover him with the skin saying : 'Thrive by thine own body.' 5. Having spread all (the parts of the anustaraṇī) they set (the pyre) on fire. 6. He should endeavor to do it in this way : If the āhavanīya-fire should reach him first, then the world of the gods approaches him ; and if the anvāhārya-pacana-fire, then the world of the Fathers approaches him ; and if the gārhapatyā-fire then he stands firm in this world with progeny and cattle.

7. Of him being set on fire the smoke shakes (off) the body. Because it shakes therefore it is called *dhuna*. For it is *dhuna* by name. Mystically they call it *dhūma*, by a mystic (appellation). For the gods are fond of the mystic. 8. From the smoke it goes unto night, from night to day, from day to the dark fortnights, from the dark fortnights to the bright fortnights, from the bright fortnights to the month. There, in the month, both body and life-spirit come together. 9. Him one of the seasons, which has a hammer in its hand, having descended by means of a ray, asks : 'Who art thou, O man ?'

50. He should make answer : 'O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the fathers.' Because they offer here illustrious king Soma, that (is meant) by it. 'Make me as such arise in a man as the maker.' For they thus make him arise in a man as the maker. 'From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother.' For he (the man) pours him into the mother. 'As such am I reborn, being born anew, the intercalary month of the twelve, through the thirteenfold one.' He is the thirteenfold one who burns here. 'Of this am I aware ; this have I ascertained. Come, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal, thither, through the twelfold (and) thirteenfold father, through this mother, through this faith,<sup>1</sup> through this food-eating, through this truth. Day is my father ; night is my mother. I am truth. As such, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal one, thither. 2. Him the seasons lead thither. As one who knows (leads) him who does not know, as one who understands him who does not understand, even so the seasons lead him

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<sup>1</sup> 'Faith' in James' sense of the word (ii. 14-18); cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. l. 448 ff.

thither. They bring him across. 3. Not a man is he who knows thus; verily one of the gods is he who thus knows. 4. Manojavas' Fathers and Grand-sires come to meet him saying: 'What hast thou brought for us from hence?' 5. To them he should make answer: 'Whatever good deed I have done that is yours.' Such an one's sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon his good actions, the enemies upon his evil deeds. Having thus made this threefold division, he enters into the same world with him who burns here."

1. On the leading around and the slaughter of the *anustaraṇi* see Caland, p. 40f, §§ 22, 23 and p. 54, § 28. 2. *apasalam* seems to be *ἀπ. ἀεγ.*

2. The meaning of *kūṭa* in *kūṭahasta* (below, 9.) is certainly 'hammer'; cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 138 f; v. Bradke, ZDMG. xlii. 458; Bloomfield, *ibid.* xlviii. 546; v. Bradke, KZ. xxxiv. 156 f. In order to translate it so here also a change to *kūṭena* (which Professor Bloomfield suggested to me) would be necessary. I have hesitated to emend thus, because I yet feel quite uncertain whether *kūṭa* always means 'hammer' and not also 'forehead.'<sup>1</sup> Without entering into the question in detail, I venture to call attention to the fact that the passage ÇB. iii. 8. 1. 15, *tasya na kūṭena praghnanti mānuṣaṃ hi tan no eva paçcāt karṇam pitṛdevatyam hi tat*, offers difficulties whichever of the two meanings may be chosen. If we translate 'forehead' (with Sāyaṇa and Eggeling), the instrumental instead of the locative is very offensive. If, on the other hand, we translate 'hammer,' the evident contrast between *kūṭena* and *paçcāt karṇam* is destroyed. An emendation of *kūṭena* to *kūṭe* would make the passage simple but beg the question.

3. *matasni*, the stem elsewhere is *matasna*; the term is evidently synonymous with *vṛkkāu*, cf. Weber, *Indische Stud.*, ix. 248. Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 163. 3 agrees with this view.

4. The formula *svayā tanvā* etc. does not appear to occur elsewhere. Professor Bloomfield, who was good enough to search for parallel passages among the slips of his MS. concordance, writes me that the formula at TS. iv. 3. 4. 1 (also in VS, TB, MS, and ĀpÇS) *svāsasthā tanūvā sām viçasva* is the closest parallel to it.

5. For this augurium cf. Caland, p. 58, § 30, where the other passages are grouped together; the *tad enaṃ devalokaḥ pratyā-gacchati* of our text supports Caland's (p. 59 note<sup>30</sup>) rendering of Āçv. GS. iv. 4. 2, *svargaloka enaṃ prāpad* (*svargaloka* for *-lokas*, not *-loke*). The *prajāyā ca paçubhiç ca pratitiçṭhati* is not found in any of the parallel passages and seems inappropriate.

The ritualistic part ends here; the rest is upaniṣad-like.

7. *dhū* in the sense of 'to shake off, to free one's self from,' is elsewhere used in the middle, e. g. AB. iv. 24. 1 *çaritam eva*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *kūṭa* 'forehead': *kūṭa* 'hammer' :: *kīçku* 'forearm': *kīçku* 'handle' (helve of an axe).

tābhir (i. e. *upasadbhir*) *dhunute* ; Kāuṣ. Up. i. 4 *tat sukṛtaduṣkṛte dhunute* [B. C. E. *dhunvate*], which the commentator illustrates by the simile *aṣva iva romāṇi kampanena*, evidently with reference to Chānd. Up. viii. 18. 1 *aṣva iva romāṇi vidhūya pāpam candra iva rahor mukhāt pramucya dhūtvā ṣarīram etc.*

8. I have retained the strange *apocchantī* (1.√ *vas* + *apa*) *pakṣa*, but I am unable to explain the feminine form of the prior member.

9. This paragraph and the next chapter have parallels in JB. i. 18 (which is useful in constituting the text) and Kauṣ. Up. 1. 2 (on which cf. Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, xlii. (1890) p. 198-204 ; Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's* (1897), p. xiv and 24 ; Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 1897, p. 98).

Before taking up single points I give the parallel passage JB. i. 18, adding for the sake of connection, the preceding seventeenth chapter.

JB. i. 17. 1. *dve ha vāva yonī<sup>1</sup> devayonir hāi 'vā 'nyā manuṣyayonir anyā dvā u hāi 'va lokāu<sup>2</sup> devaloko hāi 'vā 'nyo manuṣyaloko 'nyah.* 2. *sā yā manuṣyayonir manuṣyaloka eva sa tat<sup>3</sup> striyāi prajānam ato 'dhi<sup>4</sup> prajāḥ prajāyante.* 3. *tasmād u kalyāṇiḥ<sup>5</sup> jāyām iccheta kalyāṇo<sup>6</sup> ma ātmā sambhavād<sup>7</sup> iti. tasmād u jāyāḥ jugupsen<sup>8</sup> nen mama yonāu mama loka 'nyas sambhavād iti.* 4. *tasya vāi sambhaviṣyataḥ prāṇā agre<sup>9</sup> praviṣanty atha retas sicyate. sa imān prāṇān<sup>10</sup> ākāṣān abhinivartate tasmād u samānasyāi 'va retasas sato yādṛṣa eva bhavati tādṛṣo jāyate.* 5. *tathāi 'ṣā devayonir devalokaḥ. yad āhavanīya eṣā ha<sup>11</sup> vāi<sup>12</sup> devayonir devalokaḥ. tasmād yo gārhapatyē juhuyād atra<sup>13</sup> taḥ karotī 'ty evāi 'nam<sup>14</sup> manyeran.* 6. *sa yoj juhoti yas sādhu karoty etasyām evāi 'tad devayonāv ātmānaḥ siñcati so 'syā 'tmā 'muṣmīn āditye sambhavati sa hāi 'vaḥ vidvān dvayātmā dviyonir ekātmā hāi 'vāi 'kayonir etad avidvān.* 7. *sa yasmād lokād evamvit prāiti—*

i. 18. 1. *tasya prāṇaḥ prathama utkrāmati. sa hāi 'va<sup>15</sup> devebhya ācaṣṭa<sup>16</sup> iyad asya sādhu kṛtam iyat pāpam iti. atha hā 'yam dhumena saho 'rdhva utkrāmati.* 2. *tasya hāi 'tasya rtavo dvārapās tebhyo hāi 'tena prabruvīta.*

*vicakṣanād ṛtavo reta ābhṛtam  
ardhamāsyam<sup>17</sup> prasutāt<sup>18</sup> pitryāvataḥ.  
tam mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam<sup>19</sup>  
puṁsaḥ kartur<sup>20</sup> mātury āsiṣikta<sup>21</sup>  
sa upajāya<sup>22</sup> upajāyamāno  
dvādaṣena trayodaṣopomāsaḥ.*

<sup>1</sup> -i. <sup>2</sup> B. C. -e. <sup>3</sup> A. *tataḥ* ; B. C. *taḥ*. <sup>4</sup> A. inserts *ka* ; B. *kaḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> A. *ka* (lacuna) *ṇīm*. <sup>6</sup> -e. <sup>7</sup> B. *sambharāghād*. <sup>8</sup> A. -aḥ.

<sup>9</sup> All MSS. have the sandhi *prāṇā 'gre*. <sup>10</sup> A. *prākā*. <sup>11</sup> A. B. *bha*.

<sup>12</sup> A. B. *ve*. <sup>13</sup> B. C. *arku*. <sup>14</sup> B. 'ran.

<sup>15</sup> For *hāi 'va* A. B. have *he yatta* ; C. *hāi dvā*. <sup>16</sup> A. *kucaṣṭa*.

<sup>17</sup> A. *addhamāsam* ; B. C. *arddhyamāsam*. <sup>18</sup> C. -sūt- ; B. -tāva.

<sup>19</sup> A. *or*-. <sup>20</sup> All MSS. *karttar*. <sup>21</sup> B. C. -tas.

<sup>22</sup> The sandhi in all MSS. is -jāyo 'pa-.

sarñ tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta hã "gatam³ ma³ řtavo 'mrtam⁴ ānayaadhvam iti. 3. tam ha rtava ānayante yathã vidvãñ avidvãñsarñ⁵ yathã jãnann⁶ ajãnantam⁷ evamñ hãñ 'nam řtava ānayante. tamñ hã 'tyarjayante.⁸ 4. sa hãñ 'tam āgacchati tapan-tam. 5. tamñ hã "gatamñ pñcchati kas tvamñ asñ 'ti. sa yo ha nãmnã vã gotreña vã prabrũte tamñ hã "ha yas te 'yam mayyãtmã 'bhũd eña te sa iti. 6. tasminñ hã "tman pratipattam řtavas¹⁰ sarñ-palãyya padgrñhitam apakarñsanti. tasya hã 'horãtre lokam āpnu-taḥ. 7. tasmã u hãñ 'tena prabruvãta¹¹ ko 'hamñ asmiñ svvas tvam. sa tvãmñ svargyamñ svar agãmñ iti. 8. ko ha vãñ prajãpatir atha hãñ 'vamñvid evañ suvargañ. sa hiñ suvarñ gacchati. 9. tamñ hã "ha yas tvamñ asi so 'hamñ asmiñ yo 'hamñ asmiñ sa tvamñ asy eññ 'ti. 10. sa etamñ evañ sukrñtarasam¹² apyeti. tasyañ putrã dãyamñ upayanti pñtarasñ sãdhukñřtyãm. sa hãñ 'vamñ vidvãñ dvyyãtmã dvidãya ektãmã hãñ 'vãñ 'kadãya etad avidvãñ agñihotramñ juhoti.

17. 1. "Verily there are two wombs, the one the divine womb, the other the human womb; and, indeed, there are two worlds also, the one the divine world, the other the human world. 2. What this human womb is, that is the human world. That is the secret part of woman; from thence progeny is born. 3. Therefore one should desire an excellent wife [thinking:] 'Let an excellent (second) self of me come into existence.' And therefore one should seek to guard¹³ one's wife [thinking:] 'Lest in my womb, in my world another (self) come into existence.' 4. Verily of him being about to come into existence the breaths enter first; then the seed is emitted. He returns these breaths (to the?) spaces; and therefore of its being similar seed, whichever kind it (the seed) may be, such a one is born. 5. Thus also this divine womb is the divine world. What the āhavanãya [-fire] is, that indeed is the divine womb, the divine world. Therefore who should make oblation in the gãrhapatya [-fire], of him they would think: 'He maketh him there.' 6. In that he makes oblation, in that he does good, he thereby emits the self into this divine womb. That self of his comes into existence in yonder sun. He knowing thus has two selves, two wombs; verily one self, one womb has he who does not know this. 7. If from this world one knowing thus departs—

18. 1. —his breath goes up first. That explains to the gods: so much good was done by him, so much evil. Then along with the

¹ All MSS. *samañ*.

² B.C. only *m*.

³ All MSS. *mã*; C. inserts 'dya. ⁴ A.B. *mřta*. ⁵ All MSS. *vid*.

⁶ A. *janan*; B.C. *-ñ*. ⁷ So A; B.C. *jan*-.

⁸ A. *tyajajyayantes*; C. *tysarjjayante*.

⁹ For the next few lines C. is utterly corrupt and I have not noted the var. lect. (cf. JAOS. xvi. 239).

¹⁰ A. *tavas*. ¹¹ A. *-brav*-. ¹² A. *sarñk*-.

¹³ The usual meaning of the desiderative of *√ gup*, viz., 'avoid,' does not fit here.



smoke he goes up. 2. Of this same one the seasons are door-keepers. To them he should make answer thus : ' O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the Fathers. Make me, as such, arise in a man as the maker. From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother. As such am I reborn, being born anew, through the twelfefold one as the thirteenth, intercalary month. Of this am I aware; this have I ascertained. Come, ye seasons, lead me the immortal who have come.' 3. Him the seasons lead. As one who knows one who does not know, as one who understands one who does not understand even so the seasons lead him. They bring him across. 4. He approaches him who burns. 5. Him<sup>1</sup>, having come, he asks : ' Who art thou ?' When he announces himself either by his [personal] name or by his family [name], he says to him : ' This self of thee that hath been in me that same is thine.' 6. Him having hastened into this self, when<sup>2</sup> about to escape the seasons grasping his foot, drag away. Of him day and night obtain the world. 7. To him he should make answer thus : ' Who (*ka*) am I, heaven art thou. As such I have gone to thee, the heavenly heaven.' 8. Verily Prajāpati is who (*ka*), and he who knows thus is heaven-going. For he goes to heaven. 9. He says to him : ' Who thou art, that one am I; who I am, that one art thou; come!' 10. He approaches this sap of good deeds. His sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon good conduct. One knowing thus offers the agnihotra having two selves, two inheritances; he who does not know thus (offers it) having one self, one inheritance."

I now proceed to take up single points in order.

JB. 1. 49. 9. The conjecture *ṛtūnām* is based on the vocatives and nominative *ṛtavaḥ* which follow in 50. 1, 2. and JB. i. 18. 2 *ṛtavo dvārapāḥ*.

50. 1. In constituting the text of the stanza I have kept as closely as possible to the MS. reading. Accordingly *ardhamāsyam*<sup>3</sup> in verse 2 must be taken as qualifying *retas*; the Kāuṣ. Up. has *pañcadaçāt* instead.—*prasutāt* is taken in the active sense ('zeugend') by Boehtlingk, for which AV. xii. 1. 63 is cited in PW. Though the active seems to be favored in this latter passage by the context, Bloomfield translates it there as past ptcp. The passage here is too obscure to admit of a definite conclusion. There may be a pun between *ṛsu* 'press' and *ṛsu* 'beget'.—*vicakṣaṇa* as epithet of the soma is common in RV. The explanation of the Brāhmaṇa does not favor Deussen's interpretation of *pitryāvataḥ* as neuter sing.—In verse 3 Deussen conjectures *ārayadhvam*, but the context seems to

<sup>1</sup> §§ 5 ff. are identical with JUB. iii. 14. 1 (cf. JAOS. xvi. 173 and 239).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Roth's emendation of JUB. iii. 14. 2 in the Proceedings of April 1895 (= Journal xvii. p. ccxliii).

<sup>3</sup> *sy* from *s* is a very slight change in this alphabet.

me to favor imperatives.—In verse 4 Kauṣ. Up. reads *puṣṣā kartrā*.—I have hesitatingly accepted the reading *āsīṣikta*. If this reading is correct, it might be taken as a perfect imperative (Whitney, § 813), or as an imperative of a reduplicated aorist without thematic vowel (Whitney, § 867) and with irregular reduplication after analogy of the reduplicating presents; for the grammarians demand *asīṣicat* (Whitney, Verb-Forms *vsic.*)<sup>1</sup> The sandhi at 50. 1 and the reading of B.C. at 18. 2 (*-tas*) pointing to a past ptcp. (in which case a change to *mātary* (read *-i*) *āsiktaḥ* becomes necessary) may be merely an attempt to correct an unintelligible form.—By reading *upajāya* in verse 5 for *jāya* of the Kāuṣ. Up. the metre is restored.—In verse 6 even the two JB. versions differ, the one reading *trayodaçena dvādaçopamāsaḥ*, the other *dvādaçena trayodaçopamāsaḥ*, while Kāuṣ. Up. has *dvādaçatrayodaça upamāso*<sup>2</sup> *dvādaçatrayodaçena pitrā*. The first reading seems to me the easiest, viz. 'I come into existence through (the year of) thirteen months as the (intercalary) month added to the twelfth (month).'*—sam tad vide* etc. bears out one of the most brilliant emendations of Boehtlingk.

2. The change to *avidvānsam* and *ajānantam* seemed to be demanded by the sense.

3. *manojavasaḥ* i. e. *Yamasya*, as at VS. v. 11 *manojavās tvā pitṛbhir dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* with the Commentator.

5. Cf. Journal, xviii. 46; no. xi. 1. for a parallel passage from the Cāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

### III. Indrasya kilbiṣāpi.

§ 1. When Indra, in consequence of the guilt incurred through the murder of Viçvarūpa and Vṛtra, has fled from heaven, the gods choose Nahuṣa as Indra's successor. But intoxicated with his newly acquired power, the latter gives himself up to carnal pleasures, and even lusts after Indra's wife Çacī. And when the gods attempt to dissuade him from his evil plans by expatiating on the sinfulness of his acts, he justifies himself by a reference to Indra's record (MBh. v. 11. 4 ff.):

*evam ukto na jagrāha tad vacaḥ kāmamohitaḥ.  
atha devān uvāce 'dam indram prati surādhipaḥ:  
ahalyā dharsitā pūrvam ṛṣipatnī yaçasvinī  
jīvato bhartur indreṇa. sa vaḥ kim na nivāritaḥ.  
bahūni ca nṛçaṅsāni kṛtāni 'ndreṇa vāi purā  
vāidharmyāny upadhāç cāi'va. sa vaḥ kim na nivāritaḥ.*

"Thus addressed (by the gods), he, blinded by passion, did not take to heart their words. But the great lord of the gods spoke

<sup>1</sup> Deussen takes it as indicat. of the aorist, changing to *āsīṣikta*.

<sup>2</sup> Var. lect. *dvādaçatrayodaço māso*.

thus to the gods with reference to Indra : 'While her husband was yet alive, Ahalyā the renowned wife of a ṛṣi, was formerly ravished by Indra. Why did you not restrain him? And many deeds were formerly committed by Indra, harmful to men and unrighteous, besides deceitful tricks. Why did you not restrain him?'” Again MBh. xiii. 40 f. relates at great length the precautions which the ṛṣi Devaçarman must take in order to protect during his absence his wife Ruci against Indra, *purāṃduram ca jānūte parastrīkāmācāriṇam*; and Devaçarman's faithful pupil Vipula taunts Indra (41. 20) in the most scathing terms with his former experience when he suffered for a similar attempt on Ahalyā. Similar references to Indra's immorality are not rare in the epic (cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii. 293 f.). Nor must these traits in Indra's character be regarded as late developments of a degenerating mythology. There is ample proof that they go back to the Brāhmaṇa period, and evidence that they antedate even this. If the Vedic hymns offer but little material of this kind, this fact is simply due to the character of these poems. They are invocations and songs of praise—*nahī nu āsya mahī-mānam indriyām svār grṇānta ānaçūh* (RV. viii. 3. 13)—in which allusions of this sort would be manifestly out of place. An argumentum ex silentio would therefore here be patently wrong.<sup>1</sup> Although Bharadvāja calls Indra *ādroyhavāca* (RV. vi. 22. 2), the Vedic poets were certainly not ignorant of such examples of Indra's bad faith as Ludwig<sup>2</sup> and Bloomfield<sup>3</sup> have collected. It seems evident that such legends as these form the background for an occasional general allusion to Indra's fickleness like RV. vi. 47. 16; 17 . . . *ānyām-nyam atinenīyāmānaḥ . . . pārā pūrveṣūm sakhyā vṛṇakti vitārturāno āparebhīr eti*,<sup>4</sup> “wont

<sup>1</sup> The very fact that the hymns so frequently mention Indra's indulgence in soma (e. g. RV. vii. 22. 2, *yās te mādo yūjyaç çdrur āsti yēna vṛtrāṇi haryaçvu hāsi sá tvām indra prabhūvaso mamattu*; viii. 32. 28, *yó viçvāny abhī vratā sōmasya māde āndhasaḥ indro devēsu cetati*; viii. 15. 4, *tām te mādam grṇimasi*, etc.) is to my mind conclusive evidence that it was not regarded by the poets as 'drunkenness,' or in any way blameworthy, *māde hī śmā dādāti naḥ* (RV. viii. 1. 21).

<sup>2</sup> Commentary, vol. vi, p. 202, s. v. 'wortbruch Indra's' and 'adroha.'

<sup>3</sup> Bloomfield, JAOS. xv. 161, AJPh. xvii. 433, and Atharva Translation, SBE. xlii. 522.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the close parallel in Goethe's Iphigenie, vss. 1754 ff., Es wenden die Herrscher | Ihr segnendes Auge | Von ganzen Geschlechtern | Und meiden im Enkel | Die eh'mals geliebten | Still redenden Züge | Des Ahnherrn zu sehn.

to help on now the one now the other . . . he turneth away from his old friends and, changing,<sup>1</sup> goeth with new ones.”

On the other hand Indra's sensuality is amply exemplified in the legend of Dīrghajihvī (MS. iii. 10. 6; AB. ii. 22. 10; TMB. xiii. 6. 9, 10; JB. i. 161–163; Schol. to Pāṇini iv. 1. 59),<sup>2</sup> and the similar story at KB. xxiii. 4 with its parallel Kāth. xiii. 5 (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* iii. 479 note; v. 453), which latter is connected by Weber (*Ind. Stud.* v. 249) and Bloomfield (SBE. xlii. 547) with AV. vii. 38. 2. The antiquity of the Ahalyā story (of which the epic is so fond) is assured by the reference to it in the *subrahmanyā* formula.<sup>3</sup> Equally old is the motif of Kāth. xiii. 5. As Indra there lives disguised as a woman among the Āsuris, so he lives in female shape in Vṛṣaṇaṣva's family (cf. JAOS. xviii. p. 34). In the Rīgveda itself Indra's epithet *sāhasramuṣka* clearly belongs here, and is illustrated by Sāyana (on RV. vi. 46. 3)<sup>4</sup> by this citation from the Kāuṣītakins: ‘*yām kām ca striyam sambhavann indro bhogalolupatayā svaçarīre parvanī-parvanī cephān sasarja.*’<sup>5</sup>

§ 2. Aside however from these and other occasional references, there are in the Brāhmanas a number of parallel passages in which a formal indictment, as it were, is drawn up against Indra. The type of these is AB. vii. 28, *yatre 'ndraṁ devatāḥ paryavṛñjan viṣvarūpaṁ tvāṣṭram abhyamaṁsta vṛtram aṣṭṛta yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prādād arurmaghān avadhīd bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīd iti tatre 'ndraḥ somapīthena vyārthyata*, etc.; “When the gods shunned Indra, saying: ‘He hath intrigued against Viṣvarūpa, Tvaṣṭr's son; he hath slain Vṛtra; he hath given the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; he hath killed the Arurmaghas; he hath interrupted Bṛhaspati,’ then was Indra excluded from the soma-draught.” A similar list of misdeeds is boastingly enumerated by Indra himself at Kāus. Up. iii. 1, *triçīrṣāṇaṁ tvāṣṭram ahanam arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prūyaccham bahvīḥ saṁdhā atikramya divi prahlādīyān*

<sup>1</sup> *vitarturāṇaḥ* = *vitarturām*, RV. i. 102. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A fuller treatment of this will appear elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Weber, *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.*, 1887, ii. p. 903 f.; and the JB. text published in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 84 ff.

<sup>4</sup> At RV. viii. 19. 32 he takes *muṣkāni* = *tejāṁsi*, but apparently for no other reason than that the epithet there appears in an Agni-hymn.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 38 (on RV. x. 86. 9) on Indra's marital relations.

*atrnam aham antarikṣe pāulomān pṛthivyām kālakāñjān*;<sup>1</sup> "I killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ; I gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; transgressing many a covenant I smote in heaven the Prahlādīyas, in the atmosphere the Pāulomas, on earth the Kālakāñjas"; and at least two counts are given in Çāṅkh. ÇS. xiv. 50. 1-2, *indro vāi triçirṣānam tvāṣṭram ahanat. arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchat. taṁ sarvāni bhūtāny abhyakroçan*; "Indra killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ, he gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves. At him all creatures were wroth."

To these must now be added the chapters from the JB. which I subjoin.

JB. ii. 134 *indram vāi bhūtāni paryacakṣata triçirṣānam<sup>2</sup> tvāṣṭram avadhīd yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ<sup>3</sup> prādād arunmukhān<sup>4</sup> avadhīd bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīd saṁdhām saṁhitām atītya namucer āsurasya çiraḥ prāchāitsid iti. etebhyo devakūlbisebhyaḥ<sup>5</sup> sa hā'ranya eva cacārā'nabhyavayan devān. sa u ha devān uvāca yājayata me'ti. ne'ti ho'cur etū vāi tvayā saīndhū atītū etāni devakūlbisūni<sup>6</sup> kṛtāni na tvā yājayisyūma iti. atho' hū'syā'gnir eva sakhītama<sup>7</sup> ivū "sa. deveṣu sa u hā'gnim uvāca tvam mā yājaye'ti. tathe'ti ho'vāca sa vāi nu taṁ deveṣu icchāmi<sup>8</sup> yena tvā saha yājayeyam iti. sa ha taṁ deveṣu na viveda yenāi'nam sahū'yājayisyat. sa ho'vāca na<sup>9</sup> vāi nu<sup>10</sup> taṁ deveṣu vindāmi yena tvā saha yājayeyam iti. taṁ vāi mā tvam eva yājaye'ti. tathe'ti. so'gnir<sup>11</sup> ātmanūi'vā'rdhyata.<sup>12</sup> tam agniṣṭutam atanuta. tenāi'nam ayājayat. tasya sadyas sarvaṁ pāpmānam<sup>13</sup> nīradahat. sa yathā'hīr ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād<sup>14</sup> iṣikāmi<sup>15</sup> vivṛhed evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmāno niramucyeta. sa eṣo 'pahatapāpmā tapaty eṣa ha vā indrah.<sup>16</sup> sa ya uktoktas<sup>17</sup> syād yo 'bhyaḥkhyāyeta sa etena yajeta. sadyo<sup>18</sup> hāi'vā'sya sarvaṁ pāpmānam<sup>19</sup> nīradahati<sup>20</sup> sa yathā'hīr ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād iṣikāmi vivṛhed evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmāno nirmucyate.*

<sup>1</sup> B. C. and Sāyaṇa on RV. v. 34. 4 *kālakāñjān*; D. *kālakāñjān*; F. *kālakāñjyān*.

<sup>2</sup> All MSS. *çirṣānam*. <sup>3</sup> D. *sāl*-. <sup>4</sup> A. *arūrjakhān*. <sup>5</sup> All MSS. *-kūlbis-*.

<sup>6</sup> All MSS. *-kūlb-*; D. *-bisū-*. <sup>7</sup> D. *-ā*. <sup>8</sup> A. *-ta*. <sup>9</sup> A. *acha-*. <sup>10</sup> A. *ra*.

<sup>11</sup> A. *na*. <sup>12</sup> A. D. *-im*; H. *-ir*. <sup>13</sup> A. *ātmana evā ddheta*; D. H. *ātmana evā ddhyeta*. <sup>14</sup> A. *-pmān-*. <sup>15</sup> A. *mañ-*. <sup>16</sup> A. *irṣvamkāma*.

<sup>17</sup> A. *ñmañdras*. <sup>18</sup> A. *uttottara*. <sup>19</sup> All insert *ha*.

<sup>20</sup> D. *pāpmānagnī*; hence possibly *pāpmānam agnir* should be read.

<sup>21</sup> All *nīradahā*.

“The creatures condemned Indra, saying: ‘He hath killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭar, he hath given the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves, he hath killed the Arurmukhas, he hath interrupted<sup>1</sup> Bṛhaspati, transgressing the covenant he had covenanted he cut off the head of the Asura Namuci.’ From these sins against the gods he walked away into the forest not descending (?)<sup>2</sup> to the gods. He said to the gods: ‘Perform a sacrifice for me.’ ‘No,’ they said, ‘these agreements thou hast transgressed, thou hast committed those sins against the gods. We will not perform a sacrifice for thee.’ Now, Agni might have been called his best friend; so among the gods he spoke to Agni: ‘Sacrifice for me.’ ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘but I desire some one among the gods with whom I may sacrifice for thee.’ He did not find any one among the gods with whom he might have sacrificed for him. He said: ‘I cannot find any one among the gods with whom I might sacrifice for thee.’ ‘Then do thou alone sacrifice for me.’ ‘Yes.’ Agni by himself succeeded. He performed this *agnis̥tut*. With that he sacrificed for him. With it he at once burnt away all his (Indra’s) evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull the blade of the reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he got rid of all his evil.’ He burns having cast off all evil. For this is Indra. If one should be much talked about,<sup>4</sup> if they should reproach him, he should sacrifice with this (*agnis̥tut*). At once he burns off all his evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull a blade of reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he gets rid of all evil.”

Probably Sāyana is quite right in connecting RV. v. 34. 4,

<sup>1</sup> *bṛhaspater avadhīt = bṛhaspater vācam avadhīt*, cf. AB. vi. 38. 4, *alaso ‘bhūr yo me vācam avadhīh*. The Commentator on AB. vii. 28 glosses: *svaguror bṛhaspater vākyaṃ svakīyena vākyaena pratyavadhīt*. so ‘*yam pratighāto na yuktaḥ tathā cā ‘pastambaḥ smarati: vākyaena vākyaṣya pratighātam ācāryasya varjayec chreyasām ce ‘ti*. It is ‘interrupt’ rather than ‘contradict.’

<sup>2</sup> Professor Bloomfield suggests *anubhāvayan* as a possible conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> For the comparisons cf. JB. 1. 9, *sa yathā ‘hir ahicchavyāi nirmucyeta yathā muñjād iṣikāṃ vivṛhed evam eva sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate ya evaṃ vidvān agnihotraṃ juhōti*; Kāth. Up. ii. 6. 17, *aṅguṣṭhāmātraḥ puruṣo ‘ntarātmā | sadā janānām hṛdaye samniviṣṭaḥ | taṃ svāc charirāt pravṛhet | muñjād ive ‘iṣikāṃ dhāryena*; BAU (ed. Böhtlingk) iv. 4. 10, *tad yathā ‘hinirvlayanī valmike mṛtā pratyastā çayitāi ‘vam eve ‘daṃ çariraṃ çete (= ÇB. xiv. 7. 2. 10)*.

<sup>4</sup> *vac* in the bad sense of *nid*, cf. RV. vii. 31. 5, *mā no nidē ca vāktave ‘ryō randhīr drāvṇe*.

*yásyá 'vadhūt pitāraṁ yásya mātāram  
yásya śakró bhrātaraṁ ná 'ta īṣate  
vétī 'd v asya práyatā yatamkaró  
ná kílbīṣād īṣate vāsva ākaráh,*

with the Brahmaṇa stories just quoted. The thought is clear : The Valiant One does not flee even from him whose father or mother or brother he has slain ; even of one thus offended he demands offerings ; nay even from guilt does the Collector of Wealth not shrink. Sāyaṇa glosses : *kílbīṣāt pitrādivadhayuk-tān' ne 'ṣate na calati na bibheti vā. indrasya 'stotīṇām hatir indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyah prāyacchaḍ antarikṣe' pāulomān pṛthivyām kálakāñjyān arunmukhān yatīn sālāvṛkebhyah prā-yaccham ityādi śrutīṣu prasiddhā.*

§ 3. Of the legends referred to in the above indictment, that of the Yatis is frequently and variously related in the Brāhmaṇas. Most of the passages have already been collected by Weber in his note on AV. ii. 27. 5 (*Ind. Stud.* xiii. 191) viz. AB. vii. 28 ; TS. vi. 2. 7. 5 ; TMB. viii. 1. 4 ; xiii. 4. 16 ; xiv. 11. 28 ; xviii. 1. 9 ; xix. 4. 7 ; Kāth. viii. 5 ; xi. 10 ; xxv. 6 ; xxxvi. 7 (in *Ind. Stud.* iii. 465) Ṣāñkh. ṢS. xiv. 50. 2. To these may be added TS. ii. 4. 9. 2 ; MS. i. 10. 12, p. 152 ; and JB. i. 185 which runs as follows :

*trāikakubham unnādyakāmaḥ kurvīta. indro yatīn sālāvṛkebhyah prāyacchat.² teṣām³ adyamānānām trayah kumārāḥ⁴ pary-aṣīsyanta rāyovājah pṛthuraṣmir⁵ bṛhadgiriḥ. ta⁴ indram astuvan. tān⁷ abravūt kimkāmā mā kumārās stuthe⁸ 'ti.⁴ bibhṛhy eva no maghavann⁹ ity abruvan. tān antarā 'nsayor¹⁰ adhyāsyata. tā asya tisraḥ kakubho 'lambanta. ime vāi lokās saha santas tredhā vyāyan.¹¹ tāns tredhā¹² 'nnādyam anuvyūit. ta u eṣām trayāṇām lokānām tisraḥ¹³ kakubho 'nnādyam¹⁴ alambanta.¹⁵ sa āikṣatāi¹⁶ 'ṣām ced vāi trayāṇām lokānām tisraḥ kakubho 'nnādyam¹⁷ avarundhīya¹⁷ tene 'mās tisraḥ kakubho 'pahareye¹⁸ 'ti. sa¹⁹ etat . . .*

¹ Cf. RV. iv. 18. 12, *kās te mātāraṁ vidhāvām acakrat* ; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* ii. 51.

² He quotes here (evidently from memory, hence the transposition) the passage Kāuṣ. Up. iii. 1.

³ C. *prācīṣā*. ⁴ C. om. ⁵ C. *kām-*. ⁶ A. *prathuraṣmi* ; C. *prathar-aṣmi*. ⁷ A. *tār*. ⁸ C. *stuṣetharī*. ⁹ C. *mavya-*. ¹⁰ C. *'ṛsahyor*.

¹¹ A. *vāyaṅs*. ¹² A. *tresā* ; C. *tredhāyā*. ¹³ C. om. ¹⁴ C. *nnādyakāmam*. ¹⁵ A. *avāḷamb-*. ¹⁶ C. *āikṣṛte*. ¹⁷ A. *avāruṅdha*. ¹⁸ A. *avāharata*.

¹⁹ This whole sentence to '*pāharata* is wanting in A.

*çyaktenā*<sup>1</sup> 'stuta tenāi' 'šām trayānām lokānām tisraḥ kakubho 'nnādyam avārundhata' tene' 'mās tisraḥ kakubho 'pāharata.' tad yad ešām trayānām lokānām tisraḥ kakubho 'nnādyam avārundhata' [tat] trāikakubhasya trāikakubhatvam.<sup>2</sup> tad etad annādyasyā 'varuddhisāma.' avā 'nnādyam runddhe' 'nnādyacresthas svānām bhavati ya evam veda.

186. āindriyam vā etat sāma. āindratṛcaḥ.<sup>3</sup> āindrasāma.<sup>10</sup> indra iti nidhanam bhavati. trīni puruṣa<sup>11</sup> indriyāny ūtmā prajāḥ paçavaḥ. tāny evāi 'tenā' 'tman'<sup>12</sup> pariḡrḥṇite. tām abravīt kimkāmo vā<sup>13</sup> ekaḥ kimkāma ekaḥ<sup>14</sup> kimkāma<sup>15</sup> eka<sup>16</sup> iti. so 'bravīd rāyovājaḥ paçukāmo<sup>17</sup> 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmāi ilām prāyacchat. paçavo vā ilā. athā 'bravīt pṛthuraçmiḥ kṣatrakāmo 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmāi kṣatram<sup>18</sup> prāyacchat. sa eva pṛthur<sup>19</sup> vāinyah. athā 'bravīd bṛhadgiri<sup>19</sup> annādyakāmo 'ham asmī 'ti. tasmā atha kāmam prāyacchat.

"He who desires food should use the *trāikakubha-sāman*. Indra gave the Yatis over to the *sālāvṛka*-wolves. While they were being eaten, three boys were left, Rāyovāja, Pṛthuraçmi, and Bṛhadgiri. They praised Indra. He said to them: 'With what wish, O boys, do you praise me?' 'Support us, O Bounteous one,' they said. He threw them over his shoulders. They clung to his three points.<sup>19</sup> Verily these worlds which had been together separated in three parts. In connection with these [worlds] food also separated in three parts. And they clung to the three points of these worlds, to food. He considered: 'If I should obtain the three points of these three worlds, food, I should thereby carry off these three points.' He thus praised with the . . . *çyakta-[sāman]*. With it he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food; with it he carried off these three points. Because he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food, that is the reason for calling it the *trāikakubha-[sāman]*. That same is the *sāman* for the obtainment of

<sup>1</sup> C. *eta* (space) *çyak*-. <sup>2</sup> C. *avarundhīyate*. <sup>3</sup> C. *tenā*. <sup>4</sup> C. *harata*.

<sup>5</sup> A. C. *avār*-.  
<sup>7</sup> A. *varuddhīssa*-. ; C. *varundhīsā*-.  
<sup>9</sup> A. *āindrīr iti ca*; C. *āindrītṛcaḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> C. *trekakubhaḥtvam*.  
<sup>8</sup> A. *avarundhe*.  
<sup>10</sup> C. *āindrām s*-.  
<sup>11</sup> C. *puṣṭapuṣa*. <sup>12</sup> A. *smātman*. <sup>13</sup> C. *vaḥ*. <sup>14</sup> C. *om*. <sup>15</sup> A. *paçvak*-.  
<sup>16</sup> C. *kṣetra*-. <sup>17</sup> A. *prathar*; C. *prathur*. <sup>18</sup> C. *-giram*.  
<sup>19</sup> This, and what follows it not quite clear to me. The Commentator to TMB. viii. 1. 4. glosses the parallel passage by *svakakupsv adhinidhāya*.



food. He obtains food, he excels his own (people) in food who knows thus.

186. And this *sāman* also pertains to the powers (*indriya*). It is Indra's triplet. It is Indra's *sāman*. Its *nidhana* is 'Indra.' There are three powers in man : the self, offspring, cattle. These same he thereby encompasses within himself. He said to them : 'What does the first wish? what the second? what the third?' Rāyovāja said : 'I desire cattle.' He gave to him the *ilā*. For the *ilā* is cattle. Again Pṛthuraçmi said : 'I desire nobility.' He gave to him nobility. He is Pṛthu Vāinya. Again Bṛhadgiri said : 'I desire food.' He gave him his wish."

This is clearly an elaboration of the legend in TMB. xiii. 4, 16 (and also very briefly told at viii. 1. 4.), *indro yañ sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchat. teṣāṃ traya udaçiṣyanta pṛthuraçmir bṛhadgiri rāyovājāḥ. te 'bruvan ko na imān putrān bhariṣyati 'ti. aham itī 'ndro 'bravit. tān adhinidhāya' paricāry acarad' vardhayaṅs tān vardhayitvā 'bravit kumārakā varān vṛñidhvam itī. kṣatram mahyam ity abravīt pṛthuraçmiḥ. tasmā etena pāthurāçmena' kṣatram prāyacchat. kṣatrakāma etena' stuvīta kṣatrasye 'vā 'sya prakāṣo bhavati. brahmavarcasam mahyam ity abravīt bṛhadgiriḥ. tasmā etena bārhadgireṇa' brahmavarcasam prāyacchat. brahmavarcasakāma etena stuvīta brahmavarcasī bhavati. paçūn mahyam ity abravīt rāyovājāḥ. tasmā etena rāyovājīyena' paçūn prāyacchat. paçukāma etena stuvīta paçumān bhavati.*

The shorter passage (viii. 1. 4) introduces the story exactly like the longer versions just quoted. But after *aham itī 'ndro 'bravit* it continues : *tāns trikakub adhinidhāyā 'carat. sa etat sāmā 'paçyat. yat trikakub apaçyat tasmāt trāikakubham.* The Commentator glosses : *trikakup* by *tryucchritapradeṣa āsan svakakupsv adhinidhāya* ; which is quite similar to Sāyana's explanation of the same word at RV. i. 121. 4, *trikakup triṣu lokeṣū 'cchrita indrah.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Commentary glosses *rathe āropya* ; but it evidently corresponds to the *antarā 'ṅsayor adhyāsyata* of the JB. version.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the *Bibl. Indica* reads *paricāryy acarān* ; but a 3d pers. sing. is wanted. Its force is that of an auxiliary with the participle following, cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* p. 390. The Comment. has : *vardhayan poṣayan, paryacaran* (!) *paricaryām kṛtvān, evam vardhayitvā punar abravīt* ; where *paryacaran* clearly stands for *-at*.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. supplies *sāmnā*.

<sup>4</sup> Comm. supplies *parthurāçmena brahmasāmnā*.

<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere he usually glosses *kakubh* by *diç*.

The Buddhistic technical terms *upādāna* and *upādiseṣa*.—By  
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THE meaning of the word *upādāna*, the ninth *nidāna* in the *paṭicca-samuppāda*, and of the kindred *upādi-*, has been much discussed, without any altogether satisfactory and universally accepted result. Yet for the interpretation of the philosophical system of Buddhism it is of considerable consequence that both terms should be correctly understood; for the first is a pivotal link in the celebrated formula of causation which the legend represents as the third and crowning insight gained by the Buddha on the Night of Enlightenment, and the second is intimately connected with that subject of interminable controversy, Nirvāna. Of *upādāna*, in particular, a distinguished scholar has lately put forward a singular misinterpretation, which results in a mistaken view of the whole causation-formula, and thereby in a misconception of some of the essential parts of Buddhist psychology. By an examination of the use of these words in the Piṭakas, it seems to me not impossible to establish their meaning somewhat more definitely and coherently than has hitherto been done, and thus to throw some light upon the notorious obscurities of the *paṭicca-samuppāda*. A preliminary study directed to this end is here offered.

I. The word *upādāna* is ordinarily translated "attachment," or "clinging to existence," a meaning which its etymology naturally suggests, and which is definitely assigned to it by Buddhaghosa.<sup>1</sup> This signification is commonly regarded as indicating that the ninth link of the *paṭicca-samuppāda* is virtually a repetition of the eighth, *taṇhā*; so Mr. Warren,<sup>2</sup> "the relation of desire to attachment is that of identity." Some late Buddhist commentators, however, who are followed by Burnouf,<sup>3</sup> define *upādāna* in strictly physical terms as "the conception of the embryo." Finally, M. Senart, in his paper "Apropos de la

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<sup>1</sup> Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> JAOS. vol. xvi. p. xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Introduction*, p. 475.

théorie bouddhique des douze nidānas," has lately propounded a third and surprising view of the matter, which he bases upon the frequent use of the compound *upādānakkhandhā*. M. Senart holds that *upādāna* is only an abbreviated expression for this compound; in other words, that it is a collective designation for the five skandhas. "*Upādāna*, plusieurs textes le démontrent, n'est qu'une réduction pour *upādānaskandhas*, ou, plus complètement, *pañca upādānaskandhas*. Ces skandhas sont compris en bloc sous le chef d' *upādāna*." Childers's translation of *upādānakkhandhā*, "the skandhas which have their roots in *upādāna*," M. Senart declares to be wholly arbitrary. Since, however, the five skandhas already appear, more or less distinctly, in the second, third, fourth, sixth, and seventh terms of the *paṭicca-samuppāda*, this interpretation makes it necessary to regard the formula as extremely repetitious; and from this supposed repetitiousness M. Senart draws his principal argument for the derivative, composite, and practically meaningless character of the formula as a whole. But both premises and conclusion are, I believe, entirely erroneous.

The identification of *upādāna* with *upādānakkhandhā* seems to be so altogether groundless that only the eminence of the authority by whom it is made can justify any serious criticism of it. Out of the four passages cited by M. Senart in proof of it, the three which I have been able to consult prove nothing remotely like the interpretation which they are intended to substantiate. The first two are merely different versions of a familiar passage in the *Dhamma-cakkappavattana Sutta*.<sup>1</sup> Here, in the exposition of the first Noble Truth, it is said, *samkhitena pañc' upādānakkhandhāpi dukkhā*, "in short, the five *upādāna*-skandhas are painful." This text, of course, throws no light whatever upon the relation of the two elements in the compound word. The remaining passage is a section from the *Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā* given by Burnouf (*Introd.* p. 475). Two alternative interpretations are there offered for *upādānakkhandhā*: (a) *upādānakkhandhā = upādāna[sambhūtāḥ]skandhāḥ*, "c'est-à-dire les attributs produits par la conception,"—a translation identical, so far as the relation of the elements of the compound

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, 1896, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvagga*, i. 6. 19, and Feer, "Études Bouddhiques," JA. 1870, i. pp. 382, 406.

is concerned, with Childers's; (b) *upādānakkhandhā* désigne les attributs qui sont l'origine ou la cause de la conception." In short, the commentator of the *Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā* by no means identifies *upādāna* and *upādānakkhandhā*, but he allows the reader to understand by the latter term either "the skandhas that are caused by *upādāna*," or "the skandhas that are the causes of *upādāna*" (both interpretations, as we shall see, are to be accepted). Thus there appears no evidence for M. Senart's interpretation. On the other hand, that interpretation is directly contradicted by numerous passages in the Sutta Piṭaka, which make both the distinction and the relation between *upādāna* and *upādānakkhandhā* sufficiently plain. Thus in *Saṃyutta Nikāya* 22. 48 (ed. Feer, vol. iii. p. 47) we have the following: "What, O monks," says the Blessed One, "are the five skandhas? Whatever form (*rūpam*) there is, past, present, or future, near or far, etc.—that is called *rūpakkhanda*." So of the four other skandhas. "And what are the five *upādāna*-skandhas? Whatever form there is, past, present, or future, near or far, etc., which is connected with the *āsavas* and subject to attachment (*upādāniya*),—that, O monks, is called *rūpupādānakkhandha*." Here it is sufficient to observe that a distinction is obviously made between the skandhas as such, and the skandhas as subject to *upādāna*. A similar distinction is indicated at *Saṃy. Nik.* 22. 7 (Feer, iii. p. 15), where the mind is said to be characterized by *upādāna* in so far as it takes any (or all) of the skandhas for a substantive Self. This, of course, corresponds strictly to only one of the four sorts of *upādāna*;<sup>1</sup> viz., *attavādupādāna*; but the demarcation between the several sorts is not in any case a very rigid one.

It is sufficiently evident, then, that *upādāna* is by no means "merely an abbreviation for *upādānakkhandhā*." The view that has been criticised may, however, serve to remind us that there certainly was for Buddhist thought a particularly close connection of ideas between *upādāna* and the skandhas. It may be worth while to attempt to state precisely what this connection was; although the matter seems, indeed, fairly obvious.

It is just this relation which a great part of the *Khandha Saṃyutta* (*Saṃy. Nik.* 22), is devoted to expounding, at tedious length and with a great deal of repetition. To this *Saṃyutta* in general the reader may be referred. A couple of typical state-

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<sup>1</sup> *Saṃy. Nik.* 12. 7, Feer, iii. p. 8.

ments taken from it will suffice for quotation here. From *Saṃy. Nik.* 22. 63 : *rūpaṃ kho bhante upādiyamāno baddho Mārassa, anupādiyamāno mutto Pāpimato*, "Through attachment to form [or the other skandhas] one is bound by Māra, but by non-attachment one is released from the power of the Sinful One." From *Saṃy. Nik.* 22. 121 : *katame bhikkhave upādāniyū dhammā, katamam upādānaṃ. Rūpam. pe. upādāniyo dhammo, yo tattha chandarāgo, taṃ tattha upādānam* ; "What, O monks, are the things subject to attachment, and what is attachment? The skandhas are the things subject to attachment ; and whatever passion and desire exist in connection therewith, that is the attachment connected with the skandhas."

In view of the exposition in the *Khandha Saṃyutta* I venture to state summarily the signification of *upādāna* and its relation to the skandhas as follows : *upādāna* is specifically that result of desire which consists in the habitual identification of one's will and interests with the skandhas, i. e. with the conditions of ordinary sentient, and especially (*Saṃy. Nik.* 35. 110) of physical, existence. It is thus, on the one hand, dependent upon the skandhas for its source and origin ; but on the other hand, as its place in the *paṭicca-samuppāda* shows, the existence of *upādāna* is what leads directly to the formation of a new combination of skandhas in the next succeeding birth. It is this latter side of the notion which has given rise to the definition of the word that is offered by the Mahāyāna commentators cited by Burnouf (*l. c.*), "the conception of the embryo." In any given birth, a man's individual existence consists in the aggregation of skandhas which has resulted from his *upādāna* in a previous birth. The continuance of these existing skandhas can be in no wise affected by anything which he may do in the present life. But he may or may not identify his will with, attach his whole being to, these existing skandhas ; and upon this it will depend whether the dissolution of the present group shall be followed by the formation of a new one, or not. As distinguished from *taṇhā*, *upādāna* seems to be the chronic condition of the will to which the particular cravings of desire lead ; the more a man is given over to desire, the more his entire existence becomes bound to, and dependent upon, the transitory, insubstantial, and worthless conditions of sentiency and bodily form. An instructive comparison can also be drawn between the distinctive significations of *upādāna* and karma as causes of rebirth. The word karma came

to Buddhism with a long history behind it, and with its own set of moral ideas which had grown up around it. The morality to which it referred was simply the ordinary morality of social and religious propriety; the rewards which it implied were merely the blessings of rebirth in a more desirable state of existence,—in one of the heavens, in a wealthy family, or the like. This morality and this system of rewards Buddhism retained; but it added thereto a wholly new conception, namely, that of absolutely passionless, motiveless action; and a new *summum bonum*, namely, the cessation of rebirth altogether and the attainment of Nirvāna. For the general idea of the influence of moral causes in affecting future destiny, Buddhism adopted the old word, karma. But the pre-philosophical doctrine of karma apparently took the necessity of rebirth in some form or other as a matter of course. Since, therefore, the Buddhistic conception asserted the possibility of putting an end to rebirth, it implied that rebirth *simply as such*, apart from its particular form, must also have a cause; and for this special cause of rebirth *per se*, the name *upādāna* was used. It will, then, usually be found, I think, that for the general notion of moral causation the word karma is employed; but that, when there is occasion to distinguish between the old sort of virtue and its reward, which Buddhism accepted, and the new sort, which Buddhism propounded, there is a clear difference of usage between the two expressions. Karma, in this special sense, is the cause of the particular condition in which a man is reborn,<sup>1</sup> while *upādāna* is the cause of the *fact* of rebirth in itself.<sup>2</sup> Thus a man who has not entered the Paths, and so has not begun to extinguish *upādāna* at all, is still capable of creating for himself good rather than bad karma. If this general distinction be borne in mind, it will, I think, make the *paṭicca-samuppāda* seem rather more significant and intelligible than it would otherwise appear. The formula, though not expressing strict temporal sequence, falls broadly into three parts, the first (links 1-2) referring more particularly to past existences; the second (3-9), to the present existence; and the third (10-12), to future existences. The first section begins with Ignorance (i. e., of the Buddhist Dharma), and ends with *saṅkhārā*, which are

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Saṅgh. Nik.* 3. 2, tr. Warren, *B. in T.* p. 226, and *Milinda Pañha*, p. 65. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the passages cited above, and *MP.* p. 82. 12.

equivalent to karma in its more general sense ; what is asserted is that those who have never known the truth revealed by the Enlightened One have of necessity been subject to the law of karmic causation, and so to rebirth ; this is, so to say, the pre-Buddhistic era, and therefore the pre-Buddhistic term is used for the cause which carries the sequence over into the next stage. But the "present" existence of the second section is characteristically an existence described with reference to the special doctrine of Buddhism ; the being who is in this stage, is, as it were, conceived as potentially acquainted with the saving truth of the impermanence of all composite things and the worthlessness of all skandha-existence ; and consequently the cause and transitional link at the end of the section (9), which, if it be *not* extinguished and salvation be *not* gained, will lead to repeated birth after death, is here spoken of, not simply as karma, but as the peculiar cause of rebirth itself, which has been discovered by the Buddha,—i. e., as *upādāna*. The indeterminate future existences of the third stage are briefly summarized under the ordinary colloquial expressions for the great termini of human life,—*bhava*, *jāti*, *jarāmaraṇa*,—and the sorrow inevitably connected therewith.

From this point of view the whole formula of causation becomes, I think, reasonably intelligible, and the value traditionally assigned to it can be understood. To conceive, as M. Senart does, that the *paṭicca-samuppāda* is a virtually meaningless affair of shreds and patches, is to go a long way towards missing the point of certain of the most interesting and essential doctrines of Buddhism. In spite of a considerable residue of obscurity, the formula has, in general, a distinguishable meaning and an important one. Buddhism,—I speak throughout, of course, of the Buddhism of the Piṭakas and of the orthodox commentators,—is essentially a system of spiritual discipline based, not upon a metaphysic, but upon a psychology of sensation. It is this, of course, which sharply differentiates it from the other important Hindu philosophies, which are highly metaphysical. It seems to be difficult for European expounders of Buddhism to keep this distinction steadily in mind. There is a tendency to assimilate the doctrine to the type of the metaphysical systems.<sup>1</sup> Thus one

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<sup>1</sup> A corresponding tendency appears in the interpretation of the practical side of the system, to make the essence of the Buddhistic conception of virtue lie in "union,—the sense of oneness with all that is," etc., while sorrow and evil are "in fact the result of the effort of the

of those who have done most to advance Buddhistic studies has been led to lend his weighty sanction to an unfortunate suggestion of Mr. Waddell's<sup>1</sup> for the interpretation of the very first of the *nidānas*; the suggestion, namely, that the Ignorance there referred to is "an Ignorant Unconscious Will to Live, identical with what is now generally known to occidentals as Hartmann's Absolute." But this, surely, is almost enough to disturb the Bhagavat in the quietude of Nirvāna. Buddhism knows nothing of any ontological absolute, and it has a really morbid antipathy to the Unconditioned. The first *nidāna* simply asserts that salvation depends ultimately upon a certain theoretical insight; namely, an insight, not into any ultimate truths about the prime substance and metaphysical essence either of the universe or of man, but into a certain simple psychological analysis of the nature and value of human sensation and volition. Now, just this analysis is concisely packed into the middle and longest section (3-9) of the *paṭicca-samuppāda*. The terms used there, perhaps even the ideas, are doubtless largely borrowed ones; but the arrangement and application of them is certainly original and characteristic. It is impossible here to attempt to review this analysis, and to show how the skandhas are somewhat obscurely referred to in the *nidānas* between 1 and 8. The analysis ends with the seventh term of the formula, the completed and concrete fact of Sensation, with which, for the first time, appear determinations of worth, the pleasure-pain characteristics.<sup>2</sup> Hereupon arises the activity of the sensuous will in the form of desire and aversion (8); and from this there ensues that habitual volitional attitude of *upādāna* which seeks, with inevitable failure, to find fixity and a stable satisfaction in what is inherently changeful and transitory. The fact of imperma-

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individual to keep separate from the rest of existence." This, in reality, is not an original Buddhistic notion at all, but Vedāntic. The spirit and tendency of Buddhism is far more pluralistic than monistic. In the sense in which the doctrine recognizes individuality, the individual is inherently "separate from the rest of existence," and always remains so. This separateness consists in the individuation of the sequence of karmic causation. Only the substantive permanence, not the separateness, of the Self is denied. For Buddhism, so to put it, a longitudinal section of existence would show no Ego, but a cross-section at any given moment would show an irresoluble individuation.

<sup>1</sup> *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Milinda Pañha*, p. 60, and Warren, *B. in T.*, p. 135.



nence, which is the cause of this failure, is not made explicit in the formula itself, but is given in the complementary formula of the Three Characteristics. It may almost be said that the *paṭicca-samuppāda*, properly understood, and the *tilakkhaṇa* for a commentary upon its middle section, constitute all the absolutely indispensable theoretical *impedimenta* with which Buddhism burdens itself.

## II.

We may now turn to consider briefly the meaning of the element *upādi-* in the compound *upādisesa*. This compound has usually been translated, "having the five skandhas remaining;" and *saupādisesa nibbāna* and *anupādisesa nibbāna* are rendered respectively as the condition of the Arahāt before, and his condition after, the dissolution of the skandhas, i. e. before and after his physical death (cf. Childers *s. v.*). *Upādi* is thus represented to be what M. Senart has taken *upādāna* to be,—a summary designation for the skandhas. But *upādi* (according to Childers's etymology, which is the usually accepted one) is virtually the same word as *upādāna*, in a form adapted to composition; and we have seen that *upādāna*, at all events, is no more a name for the skandhas than 'hen' is a name for 'hen's-egg.' It is, therefore, surprising, if true, that substantially the same word should have two so different meanings. The only hypothesis, I think, that has been offered to account for it, is one suggested by Professor Rhys Davids: "A comprehensive name for all the skandhas is *upādi*, a word derived (in allusion to the name of their cause, *upādāna*) from *upādū*, to grasp." This, however, is an explanation that hardly explains. The improbability of such a change of meaning led Oldenberg to argue, in an admirable discussion appended to his *Buddha* (English tr., p. 433), that *upādisesa* has primarily nothing to do with the skandhas, but means simply, "having a residue of attachment remaining." His contention is fortified by some citations which come near to being conclusive as to the prevailing, though not quite universal, usage; and to these citations those interested may be referred. Oldenberg's view seems, however, to have been pretty commonly ignored or rejected by subsequent expositors, who cling rather to the theory of Childers. The question is rendered somewhat difficult and complicated by the confusing similarity between *upādi* and *upādhi*, which allows a large chance for scribal errors,

and by the uncertain etymology of both these words. The Skt. word *upādhi* is a technical term in the Nyāya,<sup>1</sup> and in the Sāṅkhya,<sup>2</sup> where it signifies the elements of phenomenal existence. This, according to E. Müller<sup>3</sup> and J. Dahlmann,<sup>4</sup> is the equivalent of the Pāli *upādi*, while Böhtlingk, Childers and Rhys Davids derive *upādi* from *upādā*, and regard *upadhi* as the Pāli representative of Skt. *upādhi*. Both derivations seem to be etymologically possible; the meaning of *upādi* must therefore be settled rather by an examination of its use than by etymological arguments. I can only contribute here a few points, relevant but not necessarily conclusive, in favor of the view that *upādi* means the same thing as *upādāna*.

For light upon the original signification of Buddhistic terms we naturally turn first to the Sutta Nipāta. The word *upādisesa* occurs there in three connections. At p. 135 (ed. Fausböll), and repeatedly in a similar context we have the following: *evaṃ sammā dvayatanupassīno bhikkhuno . . . phalaṃ patikamkhaṃ, ditṭhe va dhamme aññā, sati va upādisese, anāgāmitā*, "to the monk who rightly attends to this twofold truth, this result follows: either he attains in this world to perfect knowledge, or else, if *upādi* remains, he becomes an Anāgāmin." To be *upādisesa* is here described explicitly as the characteristic attribute of the Anāgāmin, just as perfect insight is the attribute of the Arahat. The obvious antithesis is between "perfect insight in this life" and *upādisesa*. Now the customary translation of this passage, "if at death the skandhas still remain he will attain to non-returning," makes the antithesis almost pointless. In the first place, the words "at death" are a gratuitous interpolation, since the time referred to may equally well be that of entering the Third Path. Again, it is incorrect to speak of the skandhas as "still remaining" at death; the skandhas do not remain but only their cause, which produces new groups in the next birth. This consideration alone is sufficient to make the more usual rendering of *upādisesa* improbable; for if the word really meant "having the skandhas remaining," it could not properly be applied as the differentia of the Anāgāmin, since until death both Anāgāmin and Arahat have the skandhas remaining, and after death neither can be said to do so. More-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sarvadarçana-saṃgraha*, tr. Cowell, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Garbe, *Die Sāṅkhya-Philosophie*, p. 171, 805-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Pāli Grammar*, p. 80.      <sup>4</sup> *Nirvāna*, p. 14.

over, if *upādisesa* is the especial epithet of the earthly life of the Arahāt, it is difficult to see how it can at the same time express the characteristic which distinguishes the Anāgāmin from the Arahāt. Finally the passage seems to indicate the presence of *upādi* as the cause which prevents the disciple from reaching the Fourth instead of the Third Path. In short, then, it appears to be not only justifiable but necessary to render *upādisesa* here by "having remaining a residue of attachment (*upādāna*)."

The second instance of the word in the Sutta Nipāta occurs at v. 354 (cited also by Oldenberg). Here the question is raised concerning a certain monk recently deceased: "Has he entered Nirvāna or is he *saupādisesa*?" The Buddha replies,—recalling how fully the monk has accepted and followed the Buddhist doctrine,—that he has entered Nirvāna. Not only, then, is it clear, as Oldenberg points out, that, since the monk is already dead, *saupādisesa* cannot be peculiarly an epithet of the Arahāt before his death; but we may also note that the point upon which the inquirer wishes to be assured, is whether this monk, obviously far advanced in the Paths, had quite, or merely almost, reached perfect freedom from attachment,—i. e. whether in his lifetime he had reached the stage of the Arahāt or only that of the Anāgāmin.

Once more, the word occurs at Sutta Nipāta, v. 876, with the negative prefix :

*Ettāvat' aggam pi vadanti h' eke  
yakkhassa suddhīm idha paṇḍitūse  
tesaṃ pun' eke samayaṃ vadanti  
anupādisese 'kusalā' vadānā;*

"thus some learned men say that the chief thing in the world is the purification from the demons; some, again, say that religious observances are the chief thing; but the truly wise say that the chief thing consists in being *anupādisesa*." No one familiar with Buddhist modes of thought could suppose that *anupādisesa* here means merely the extinction of the (present) skandhas, i. e. physical death. To the man who has once become freed from desire it is indifferent whether he lives or dies; to regard death, in itself, as the *summum bonum* would be the least Buddhistic of sentiments. Plainly, the word *anupādisesa* in this passage means that moral condition of freedom from attachment which is the goal of the true Buddhist's aspiration.

In the Sutta Nipāta, then, it would appear, first, that *upādisesa* or *saupādisesa* never refers primarily to the persistence of the five skandhas, but always to an ethical state; and, second, that the word, so far from describing the Arahāt either before or after his death, is precisely what serves to distinguish the Anāgāmin from the Arahāt, while the special superiority of the latter consists just in having got rid of *upādi*. Compare with this the numerous other texts, e. g. *Samy. Nik.* 23. 85, in which freedom from attachment is spoken of as the mark of the Arahāt.

In accordance with these results we should be warranted in rendering *saupādisesa nibbāna* and *anupādisesa nibbāna* respectively as "proximate" and "complete" freedom from attachment. Another phrase in which the Anāgāmin and Arahāt are at once grouped together and contrasted is *orapāram* or *pārapāram*, "the hither and the further shore" (see the first sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, and Childers, p. 336). The "hither shore" is the state of the Anāgāmin, who has rid himself of the first five *saṃyojanas*, or fetters, but has five still remaining. The Arahāt, who "has crossed both the hither and the further shore," has thrown off all the ten *saṃyojanas*. The *saṃyojanas* are roughly synonymous with *upādāna* (v. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 430); so that this form of expression seems to be precisely parallel to *saupādisesa* and *anupādisesa nibbāna*. Both phrases indicate the Anāgāmin as one who has just fallen short of the religious perfection of the Arahāt by reason of a slight residuum of *upādāna*.

It remains to say that, although the oldest and probably the most numerous texts thus point to the interpretation of *upādisesa* suggested by Oldenberg, other passages might be cited in favor of the more usual view; so that the matter cannot be regarded as finally settled. The discrepancies in usage may, as I have suggested, prove to be explicable as due to scribal errors resulting from the homophony of *upādi*, *upadhi* and the Sāṅkhyan *upādhi*.

*Apām Napāt in the Rig-Veda.*—By Dr. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Oberlin, Ohio.

THE expression *apām nāpāt*, which occurs a number of times in the Rik, has long been regarded, with one or possibly two exceptions, as merely a name of Agni. From this opinion Bergaigne dissents to some extent; for he holds that *Apām Napāt* is to be identified not only with Agni but “with liquid fire, that is to say, with Soma,” and with Savitr. In support of his view he offers quite an extended argument.<sup>1</sup> Without agreeing with his conclusions, it may be safe to assert that there is more in the question than has been commonly recognized, since the truth may possibly lie somewhere between the commonly accepted view and that put forward by Bergaigne. It is the object of this paper to review briefly the facts in the case, and to state the reasons for the belief that the whole story may not yet have been told.

A few passages in which *apām nāpāt* occurs can be easily disposed of. In iii. 9. 1, a hymn to Agni, *nāpātām* is used in apposition with a pronoun of the second person, which is repeated in the following stanza, where Agni is addressed by name. In this passage *apām nāpātām* plainly refers to Agni. An equally clear case is found in i. 143. 1, also a hymn to Agni, where *nāpād* is in apposition with a relative pronoun whose antecedent is *agnāye*. If these two passages stood alone in the Rik, *apām nāpāt*, “son of the waters,” would be regarded as a mere descriptive expression, similar to many others—similar, in fact, to *sūnūḥ sāhasaḥ*, “son of might,” which is used of Agni in the second passage, *agnāye . . . sāhasaḥ sūnāve*.

That no further value should be attached to the words in this connection, is implied by a passage in a hymn to Savitr in which they occur, i. 22. 6; for, in this case, *nāpātām* is in apposition with *savitāram*, so that Savitr also is called a “son of the waters,” and there appears to be no reason why the usage in the three passages should not be regarded as the same.

There is another hymn to Savitr, however, in which a different use of the words occurs, x. 149. 2; for here there is no other word in the stanza to which they can be surely referred. The passage reads: “Whence sprang forth the firm-set gathering-of-the-

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<sup>1</sup> *La Religion Védique*, i. 187, ii. 17-20 and 36-41, and iii. 15.

waters, O Apām Napāt,—of that, Savitṛ knows.” As there is nothing peculiar in the insertion of a vocative referring to some other personality in a hymn to one of the gods, it is unnecessary to refer *āpām napāt* to Savitṛ; but, if it does not refer to him, the expression must be used in this case as a proper name. A similar usage appears in two hymns to the Waters. In vii. 47. 2, the Waters are called upon to “let Apām Napāt, the horse-driving-one, set-in-motion” their wave most sweet. There is nothing further in the stanza to establish his identity. Again, in x. 30, he appears three times with no other designation. In stanza 3, the priests are urged to honor him with an oblation and to press the sweet Soma for him, while he is expected to give them the “beautifully-clarified wave.” In 4, he is spoken of as one “who shines within the waters with-no-need-of-kindlings, whom the inspired call upon at sacrifices”; and he is asked to “give the sweet waters with which Indra increases his courage,” a practice which is also referred to in vii. 47. 2, already mentioned. In 14, the priests are told to seat the Waters, “in-company-with Apām Napāt, on the sacrificial-straw.” These five passages, taken by themselves, imply the existence of a divinity called Apām Napāt; but that is all.

In the hymns to all the gods, Apām Napāt appears, in the same manner, a number of times. The fostering care of “Pūṣan accompanied-by-all-the-gods” is sought in x. 92. 13; then that of Apām Napāt; then that of Vāyu; while Ahi Budhnya, who appears elsewhere in these hymns in close connection with Apām Napāt, is mentioned in the preceding stanza. It is to be noted that Agni appears only in stanza 2, where he is spoken of as the established promoter of the sacrifice. In vii. 35. 13, Aja Ekapād, Ahi Budhnya, the Gathering-of-the-waters, Apām Napāt, and Pṛṣni are invoked. In this hymn, the dual divinity Indrāgnī appears in the first stanza and Agni in the fourth. In the preceding hymn, vii. 34, Agni is invoked in stanzas 8 and 14: in the latter, he is spoken of as “consuming-the-offering because of adorations,” and is asked to favor the worshipers; while in 15, the friendship of “Apām Napāt, united-with the gods,” is sought, and it is requested that he be kind to the worshipers. The singer goes on (16) to speak of praising “Ahi, the water-born (*abjām*), with hymns”; and he then begs that Ahi Budhnya, “Dragon of the Deep,” may not bring the worshipers into trouble. Again, in vi. 52. 14, while “all the gods, worthy-of-sacrifice, the two worlds, and Apām Napāt,” are called upon to hear the singer’s

“hymn-of-devotion,” Agni appears in the sixth stanza in company with Indra, Sarasvatī, and Parjanya, and he is invoked in 12 as *hóṭr*. In 16, the dual divinity Agnīparjanyaū appears. Turning to ii. 31. 6, Apām Napāt is found in company with Ahi Budhnya, Aja Ekapād, Trita, the Chief-of-the-Rbhus, and Savitr. He is spoken of as “driving-horses (*āṣuhēmā*) with skill and vigor,” though there is doubtless a play upon the last two words, *dhiyá gámi*. In another hymn to all the gods, vi. 50, stanza 13, the favor of Savitr is sought; then that of Apām Napāt; then that of “Tvaṣṭr, united-with the gods (and their) wives,” *devébhīr jānībhiḥ sajóṣā*; etc. Agni is invoked in 1, with Aditi, Varuṇa, Mitra, etc.; and he is again addressed in 9, both by name and as “son of might,” *sūno sahaso*.

In these passages there is nothing to identify Apām Napāt with Agni. There is, however, a passage in a hymn to all the gods, v. 41, in which Agni is supposed to be called “son of the waters.” In stanza 9, Āptya is called upon to assist the singer, who then makes him say, or puts himself in his place as saying, in 10: “The scion of the earth-born bull, Apām Napāt, I, Trita, praise with well-prepared-hymn; like Etarī, Agni is sung of with loud-sounding-hymns; the flaming-haired consumes the fire-wood.” In order to make *nápātam apām* refer to Agni in this passage, it is necessary to regard the “scion of the earth-born bull,” *vṛṣṇo . . bhūmyásya gárbhān*, as Agni. But it is quite as legitimate to regard the “earth-born bull” as Agni, who is often called *vṛṣan*; and, by this interpretation, Apām Napāt becomes the offspring, *gárbhā*, of Agni, not Agni himself. In fact, there seems to be an actual contrast between Apām Napāt and Agni, which, though slight, is still felt in the stanza.

There are yet two other passages in hymns to all the gods in which Apām Napāt is mentioned. In i. 122. 4, the “two-lordly-ones,” *yaçásā*, are called upon to “bring forth Apām Napāt” and “the mothers (the waters-in-the-clouds) of the rushing agile-one.” In the following stanza, a desire is expressed for the “generosity of Agni”; but there is nothing in this to identify the two. Addressing the gods, in i. 186. 3, the poet says that he sings of their “beloved guest, of Agni”; but he does not mention Apām Napāt until the fifth stanza, Varuṇa and others coming between. In 5, he says: “For us also let Ahi Budhnya joy prepare; as to (her) young the swelling-one (new-milch-cow), so-to-speak, presses onward, (so does) the stream, with which let us speed Apām Napāt whom stallions swift-as-thought convey.”

But there are still two hymns to Agni in which Apām Napāt appears, and both are instructive. In singing the praises of Agni, the poet says, x. 8. 5 : "Thou art the eye of Order great—the herdsman ; thou art, when order (holy-work) thou essayest, Varuṇa ; thou art, O creature-wise-one, Apām Napāt ; thou art (his) envoy, whose sacrifices thou tastest." If in this passage, *apām nāpāj* is taken as a mere general descriptive term, it loses all its force ; for there is little point in the statement, "thou art a son of the waters." If, on the other hand, it is taken as a proper name, and the words *bhūvo apām nāpāj* are regarded as parallel to those which correspond to them in the preceding pāda, *bhūvo varuṇo*, it becomes a clear case, in each instance, of that peculiar Vedic practice of doing homage to a god by identifying him with some other god, from whom he is entirely distinct. On this basis, the statement becomes as vigorous and striking as is the preceding one, "thou art Varuṇa." The stanza, however, may not be convincing, since the other interpretation is possible ; and the passage might easily lead to confusion, if taken in connection with the two first cited. But fortunately the case does not need to rest on this stanza. In vi. 13, a hymn in which Agni is addressed as "son of might," *sūno sahaso (-sah)*, in three different stanzas ; 4, 5, and 6, the third stanza reads : "With force the mighty-ruler slays the dragon ; the sage, O Agni, takes booty from the niggard ; whom thou O wise-one, Order-born, with riches, united-with Apām Napāt, dost prosper." In this stanza, the phrase *sajóṣā nāptrāpām* seems to admit of no escape from the conclusion that Agni and Apām Napāt were originally two different gods. In a passage cited above, vi. 50. 13, the same word, *sajóṣas*, is used of Tvaṣṭr and the gods with their wives, and it often has this sense of 'united with.' Still, it must be remembered that the Hindu mind is capable of some remarkable conceptions, and that Agni is asked to bring Agni to the sacrifice, vii. 39. 5, while Indra is represented as his own grandfather, x. 54. 2.

Only the hymn addressed to Apām Napāt, ii. 35, remains. Although its final stanza (15) is addressed to Agni, it seems to have nothing to do with the rest of the hymn and has long been regarded as a late addition. All the other stanzas have reference to Apām Napāt. In 1, the "water-born," *nādyó*, is asked to find pleasure in the poet's hymns of praise, and he is immediately named as Apām Napāt, the "driver-of-horses," *ācuhémā*. In 2, he is spoken of as the begetter of all creatures, the form of praise



so often used of the gods, and he is also called "kind," *aryó*. In 3, the "beaming waters stand round about the beaming, shining Apām Napāt." In 4, the "not-pouting young purifying waters stream about him young; with mighty flames, he richly shines with-no-need-of-kindlings, clothed-in-ghee (clarified-butter), in the waters." That he needs no kindlings, *anīdhmó*, has already been noted in x. 30. 4. In 5, the "three goddess wives gladly-furnish food for him, the unwavering god; for to the deep-valleys, so-to-speak, he flows forth in the waters; he sucks the beestings of those-having-their-first-young." In 6, his birth is said to have taken place in heaven, and it is added that "neither hardships nor wrongs can reach the not-to-be-disregarded-one in (his) crude cloud-castles yonder." In 7, he "shines forth within the waters, for the giving-of-good to the worshiping-one." In 8, he is spoken of as the one "who, in the waters, with divine flame, holy, imperishable, shines forth far-and-wide," and the "other creatures" are said to be merely "his branches." According to 9, "erect, clothed with light, Apām Napāt verily betakes-himself to the bosom of the oblique-ones (the falling-rain); carrying his preëminent majesty, the golden-colored streams move about (him)." The theme of 10 is the golden color of Apām Napāt; and it is also said that "letting-himself-down from (his) golden birth-place, bestowing-gold, he gives food to this-one (the singer)." According to 11, "his face increases, and (so does) the dear secret form (name) of Apām Napāt, whom the young-maidens (the waters) kindle unitedly, in-this-way (*itthā*),—golden-colored ghee is his food." This stanza is somewhat in dispute, however, and the "young-maidens" are regarded by some as the fingers. Still, the stanza strongly resembles 4 of the same hymn. In 12, it is stated that he is worshiped "with sacrifices, with obeisance, (and) with oblations"; and the poet then continues, "(his) peak I make-bright, I gladly-furnish with chips, I cover with food, I praise with hymns." It is to be noted that *bīlma*, 'chip,' occurs only here, in the Rik. In 13, the poet says: "He, verily, the bull (*vṛṣā*), begot in those (waters) the scion (*gárbhān*); he, verily, the young, took-to-the-breast; him (the waters) caressed; he, Apām Napāt, whose-color-cannot-be-blotted-out, with the body of another, so-to-speak, is-active here." The hymn properly concludes with 14: "(Him), on this highest station standing, with undimmed (rays) ever shining, the waters, to their son, ghee as food conveying, of-their-own-accord with draperies fly about (conceal), swiftly-streaming." Stanza 15 reads: "I proffer, O Agni,

security to man, I proffer also, to the generous, excellent-praise; all that (every thing) is propitious which the gods favor; mightily let us, rich-in-heroes, sing at the sacred-assembly." The stanza is, in part, found elsewhere, ii. 1. 16; 2. 13; 23. 19; and ix. 86. 48.

The only stanzas of this hymn, excepting 15, which can be regarded as at all suitable for Agni, are 11 and 12; for 10 is better suited to the lightning pure and simple. But 11 appears to be only a variation of 4, which, again, is perfectly appropriate for lightning. If 12 refers to the kindling of a fire, the statement of 13, that "Apām Napāt is-active here with the body of another, so-to-speak," must still be reckoned with, although an apparent rather than a real union with another's body seems to be applied. This stanza should also be compared with v. 41. 10, cited above; for it seems to bear out the suggestion that Apām Napāt was the son of Agni, as well as of the Waters, or Rain-clouds, who, in true Hindu fashion, are spoken of as his "mothers," in i. 122. 4, also cited above, and still more plainly as Agni's mothers, in iii. 9. 2. This, however, proves nothing as to relationship. If stanza 15 had any place in the original hymn, which is very doubtful, it was probably due to this apparent reference to Agni in the beginning of stanza 13, combined with the seeming reference to Apām Napāt's likeness to Agni in its concluding pāda. It is of course possible that this stanza furnished the ground for adding 15 later on, although it seems quite as likely that it was the result of a confusion of the two gods in the popular mind. It should be added, finally, that there is a possible reference to Agni in stanza 6, which begins: "There (was) the birth of the horse (Agni?) and of him (Apām Napāt), in heaven," *ācvasyātra jānimāsyā ca svār*.

Enough has possibly been said to show that Apām Napāt is probably not to be regarded merely as the lightning form of Agni, an explanation which is frequently given; but there are other evidences yet to be adduced. Apām Napāt was an Indo-Iranian god, if he is not still older; for there is a god Apām Napāt in the Avesta, whose individuality is very marked. He is often referred to immediately after a god "Ātar, the son of Ahura Mazda," while "the holy waters, made by Ahura," are frequently mentioned just after him, in turn.<sup>1</sup> If it is claimed, since Agni

<sup>1</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, xxiii. pp. 5-6, 14, 36, 38, etc., and cf. 299, etc.

does not appear in the Avesta, that the two were probably one in Indo-Iranian times, it must be remembered that Ātar has also disappeared from the Vedic beliefs, although his name has survived in Atharvan, 'Fire-priest.' Now, Ātar, like Agni, is related to both fire and lightning;<sup>1</sup> and, if Agni himself has disappeared from the religion of the Magi, his characteristics have survived in the persons of Ātar and another Avestan god. It is believed that the worship of fire is very old, that the earliest fire-cult probably had reference to the destruction of evil spirits, and that this function originally belonged to Agni alone.<sup>2</sup> But if this is true, and it seems reasonable, it naturally follows that Indra Vṛtrahan is probably considerably younger than Agni Vṛtrahan, who appears in some of the oldest hymns in the Rik; and, in that case, Agni, in his character as "spook-killer,"—x. 87. 1, and 162. 1, with iii. 15. 1, and vii. 8. 6, a very old hymn, by the way,—is to be likened to Verethraghna, the fiend smiter *par excellence* of the Avesta; for the comparison of Indra with Verethraghna will hardly stand the test of a careful analysis and may therefore be dismissed.<sup>3</sup>

That Agni was originally a god of the lightning, the lightning that strikes and leaves fire behind it, there can be no doubt.<sup>4</sup> That Agni still retains his character as lightning in parts of the Rig-Veda is, however, of itself, no more reason for identifying him with Apām Napāt, who never appears clearly in any other rôle, than is the fact that Savitr, Pūṣan, and Viṣṇu were all sun gods a reason for identifying them with Sūrya. There seem, in fact, to have been other gods of lightning, such as Trita (Macdonell, *l. c.*, p. 69), and possibly Aja Ekapād (*ib.*, p. 74) and Rudra (Hopkins, *l. c.*, p. 112), not to mention the "long broad son of the mist," *dirghám pṛthúm mihó nápātam*, led onward by the Maruts (i. 37. 11, which may, however, refer to the rain); but no one thinks of identifying any of these with Agni. It should be noted incidentally that the demon *Çuṣṇa* is also called a "son of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *SBE.*, iv., Introd., p. lxii, and xxiii. pp. 297-8.

<sup>2</sup> See Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 153, and Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> For a fuller statement, see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, lv. pp. 103, 104, and 107, footnote 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Kaegi (trans. by Arrowsmith), *The Rig-Veda*, p. 85; M. Bloomfield, in *JAOS.*, xvi. pp. 1 ff.; *R-V.*, i. 143. 2, and 164. 52, ii. 1. 1, iii. 9. 2, vii. 15. 4; etc.

the mist," v. 32. 4; but this simply shows how loosely Vedic expressions are often used.

As Agni was lightning—probably the blinding flash—and fire (later the sun also), so Apām Napāt was lightning in its most remarkable and conspicuous form, the distant descending bolt, the fascinating and awe-inspiring "chain-lightning," which, like a molten stream of fire, seems to reach from heaven to earth. This was "the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord" of the *Avesta* (SBE., xxiii. p. 14); and this was the Vedic god who, "erect, clothed with light, betakes-himself to the bosom of the oblique-ones," and "whom stallions swift-as-thought convey."

While Agni became more and more conspicuous, Apām Napāt seems to have waned in popularity, until he was so far forgotten that a confusion arose concerning the two uses of the expression *apām nāpāt*; and Apām Napāt, the "Son of the Waters," *κατ' ἔξοχόν*, was swallowed up in Agni, a "son of the waters," as he was occasionally (twice in the *Rik*) called, since he too, because of his original lightning nature, was supposed to have been born of the rain-clouds. To the same source is to be traced the myth of his hiding in the waters; for this myth probably had no connection originally with Apām Nāpat, beyond the mere fact that both he and Agni were forms of lightning which, appearing when the thunderstorm was at its height, seemed to disappear in the clouds from which they came. But a further source of confusion is possibly to be found in the expression *apām gārbhaḥ*, "scion of the waters," which is several times used of Agni (i. 70. 3, iii. 1. 12 and 13, iii. 5. 3, vii. 9. 3, and doubtless i. 164. 52, and ix. 97. 41), and also in the fact that Agni is once, ii. 1. 5, called a "horse-driver," *āçuhēmā*; but, while these expressions may have been fruitful in producing a confusion of the two gods, they cannot, as words are used in the *Rik*, be taken as valid ground for any belief in an original identity of the two.

The conclusion seems to be warranted, therefore, that Agni and Apām Napāt were once distinct gods,—gods of the lightning, who were, however, associated with each other and were much alike in certain particulars; and that this association and resemblance ultimately resulted, possibly at the close of the Vedic period, in a confusion and union of the two, as a result of which Apām Napāt was absorbed by Agni.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the following article, "The Original Hindu Triad."

*The Original Hindu Triad.*—By Dr. HERBERT W. MAGOUN,  
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THE number three is indissolubly connected with the religious history of India. Its sacred character appears conspicuously in the Rig-Veda, and the modern Hindu triad—Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva—is familiar to all who have even a slight acquaintance with India or its people. But there have been other groups of three gods in the religious history of the Hindus; and, while the origin of the divine triad, as well as that of the sacredness of the number three, may never be fully known, it is interesting to note whatever may throw any possible light on the subject.

In one of the early Brahmanical writings, the Vedic investigator Yāska tells of certain scholars, more ancient than himself, who maintained that there were but three gods, although many names were used in speaking of them. The only gods whom these scholars admitted to exist were, a deity located on the earth, Agni; a deity dwelling in the atmosphere, to whom they allotted two names, Indra or Vāyu; and a deity whose home was in the heavenly regions, Sūrya. These three, then, constituted a triad, the earliest of which there is any mention; for, although groups of three gods can be found as far back as the Rig-Veda itself,—as, for example, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, and the three Ṛbhus,—an ordinary group of three gods can hardly be called a triad, since a triad should possess marked differences, either in their field of action or in their characteristics.

In speaking of this early Brahmanical group of gods, a recent writer (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 69) says that the second member of the group was probably originally Trita, whom he further regards as a god of lightning. Later on in the book (p. 93), he concludes that the mystical threefold nature of Agni, as fire, lightning, and sun,—for the identification of Agni with the sun is also Vedic,—was the prototype of the groups, Sun, Wind, Fire, and Sun, Indra, Fire, which, though not Vedic, are ancient. He also calls attention to Agni's three dwelling places, in the order usually given, heaven, earth, and the waters, i. e., the rain-clouds. The position here taken must at once strike the reader as a reasonable one, on the whole; and it must be accepted, unless

a simpler and more natural one can be found. The notion that the light and heat of the sun came from the same source as the light and heat of a fire is based on a simple association of ideas, and need, therefore, produce no difficulty. By a similar process, Agni Vāidyuta and Trita may have also come to be identified as lightning, or the "middle Agni." It may be an interesting question, however, whether there are not other possible elements in the problem, and whether the origin of the groups mentioned cannot be pushed still further back. It is the object of this paper to consider briefly a few points looking in that direction.

The position has already been taken, in the preceding paper, "Apām Napāt in the Rig-Veda," that Apām Napāt and Agni were originally distinct gods, and that Apām Napāt was the name given to that phenomenon of the thunderstorm which is commonly spoken of as chain lightning. It may not be out of place to briefly refer to the reasons for this belief.

The name Apām Napāt is very old. If it is not Aryan, it is at least Indo-Iranian; for it appears not only in the Rik but also in the Avesta as the name of a god. In the Avesta, he is "the tall lord," or "the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord";<sup>1</sup> or, as another translator has it in other portions of the Mazdean scriptures,<sup>2</sup> he is spoken of as "lofty," "kingly and brilliant," "glittering-one," etc.

In the Rik, he is a "driver-of-horses," ii. 35. 1, and vii. 47. 2; he is a god "whom stallions swift-as-thought convey," i. 186. 5; he "shines in the waters (rain-clouds, or rain-in-the-clouds) with-no-need-of-kindlings," ii. 35. 4, and x. 30. 4; "his birth (is) in heaven, (and) no wrongs can reach (him) in his cloud-strongholds yonder," ii. 35. 6; he "shines far-and-wide with divine flame, in the waters," *l. c.*, 8; "(standing)-erect, clothed with light, (he) seeks the bosom of the oblique-ones (the streaming-rain); bearing his preeminent majesty, the golden streams press around (him)," *l. c.*, 9; "golden-colored," he descends from a golden seat, *l. c.*, 10; "here (on earth), he is-active in another's body (fire?), so-to-speak," *l. c.*, 13; and, "bringing (him) food, the waters, of-their-own-accord, quickly veil (him) standing on the highest station with undimmed (rays)," *l. c.*, 14. It is hardly necessary to say more, so perfectly does the whole description fit

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter in *Sacred Books of the East*, xxiii. pp. 5-6, 14, 36, 38, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Mills, *ib.*, xxxi. pp. 197, 204, 219, 319, 326, etc.

the distant descending bolt. His food is supposed to be clarified butter, *l. c.*, 11 and 14, probably because of the sudden flame which it produces when poured into a fire; while the swift veiling by the waters doubtless refers to the sudden withdrawal of the bolt from sight. Apām Napāt, then, is a god of lightning pure and simple, and he seems to have had that character from the beginning.

Turning now to Agni, it will be observed that he is essentially the god of fire, and the antiquity of his fire character is attested by the Latin *ignis* whose proper meaning is simply 'fire.' But that he was originally the lightning-kindled-fire is to be inferred from the fact that the Grecian myth, according to which fire first came from heaven, is to be traced in the Rig-Veda (Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 108–110), and also from the fact that Agni has, in parts of the Rik, a lightning character. Agni, then, from his original character as the lightning-kindled-fire, or, better, the lightning-stroke-which-results-in-fire, developed, as a Vedic god, a twofold nature, i. e., he became both fire and lightning; but, by a later extension, he also came to include the sun, and this gave him his mystical threefold character as fire, lightning, and sun.

Such a genesis seems, at least, to account most readily for all his peculiarities, even to the function of 'spook-killer,' *rakṣohán*, x. 87. 1, etc.; for the ancient Hindus, like their modern brethren, believed that the air about them was infested with spooks and goblins of various kinds. To suppose that fire is fatal to evil spirits, seems, under ordinary circumstances, like a strange notion; but, to one who has seen the stroke, the lightning-kindled-fire becomes a most natural death-dealer to the goblins of the air. As a rule, such a stroke is simply a terrible blinding flash; for a distant observer can hardly be aware of the stroke at all, except by inference. Occasionally, a sudden streak of dazzling light, more or less approaching the horizontal, may be seen by some one looking in the direction taken by the bolt; and its effect upon the mind can hardly be described. The sudden passage of a large swift-winged bird just over the head may sometimes produce a startled sensation akin to that produced by the flight of the lightning's bolt; but nothing else in nature approaches it. For this reason, it is not strange, perhaps, that Agni, in his lightning character, is sometimes the 'eagle' in the Rik (see M. Bloomfield, in *JAOS.*, xvi. 1 ff.); and, if his name means 'Agile-one,' as is supposed, it was certainly appropriate.

No wonder that the superstitious Hindu observer, or his ancestors, felt that such a stroke must have proved fatal to many a spook, and this original idea of the lightning-stroke-in-the-fire can still be traced in passages to Agni, the 'goblin-smiter'; as, for example, "pierce him (the sorcerer) thou slinger with (thy) dart, (thou) keen-one," *tām ástā vidhya śárvā śícānaḥ*, x. 87. 6. To the lightning side of his nature, doubtless, is also to be traced the epithet *vrtrahán*, 'dragon-slayer,' which is applied to Agni alone with any frequency, if Indra be omitted. The blinding flash does not always strike, nor does it always leave fire behind it when it strikes; but it would very soon tend to be regarded, for the most part, as Agni just the same, and, if some chance beholder were to see a tree cleft by a sudden thunderbolt, it would be a very simple and a perfectly natural bit of reasoning which would lead to the conclusion that Agni could and actually did smite the 'cloud-dragon' also in like manner. Whether the *Vrtra*, i. e., the 'cloud-dragon,' myth arose from a lack of rain or from a fear lest the light was to be snatched from men, would not affect the question; for, when the blinding flashes begin to come, not only does the rain descend but the heaviest clouds also pass over and the light begins to return.

But close observers must soon have noticed that there was a third form of lightning no less conspicuous than the other two; and the wonderful play of the cloud-bolts in the sky, which also often produce a blinding flash, may well have excited the wonder and admiration of a primitive people in a land of violent thunder-storms such as both the Hindus and their ancestors seem to have inhabited. Very soon also the question must have suggested itself whether this third form of lightning was not after all the god who destroyed the 'cloud-dragon,' since he always appeared so high up in the air where the 'sky-dragon' was, and since he always seemed to be smiting something there just as Agni was sometimes seen to do on the earth. Speaking of him as the 'third-one,' he may soon have come to be simply 'Third,' and it is possible that this was the way in which *Trita* got his name.

As the conviction grew that *Trita*, 'Third,' was the real smiter of the 'cloud-' or 'sky-dragon,' the myth would naturally tend to become attached to him even more strongly than it was to Agni; and, when *Indra* at length displaced him and became the supreme god of the storm, it was to be expected that he would also usurp the function of 'dragon-killer'; for it must be remem-



bered that Trita, as well as Apām Napāt, was probably an Indo-Iranian god, while Indra seems to have been purely a Hindu creation.

Just here it may be noted that Apām Napāt never appears in the role of a 'fiend-smiter' in either the Rik or the Avesta. In the latter, to be sure, when Ātar, 'Fire,' and Azhi Dahāka (the Avestan sky-dragon) are battling for "the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda," i. e., the light (physical and sacerdotal); Apām Napāt seizes the "Glory" when it flees to "the sea Vouru-Kasha," or the upper air (see SBE. vol. iv., Introd., pp. lxii-lxiii, and vol. xxiii. pp. 297-9); but he takes no other part in the fight. If, now, Apām Napāt is the lightning form of Agni, as is commonly supposed, and if the epithet *vrtrahān* was transferred to Agni from Indra, as is commonly held, it is difficult to understand, on *a priori* grounds, why Apām Napāt never has the character of a fiend-smiter, even if he does not receive the epithet *vrtrahān*; for assuredly it is the lightning side of Agni which is most prominent in both Agni Vṛtrahan and the dual divinity Indrāgnī. See RV., iii. 20. 4, i. 59. 6, x. 69. 12, etc., and i. 108, v. 86, vi. 59, vii. 93, etc. Again, since the Zend word Verethraghna, from its etymology, must originally have been an adjective, and since the Avestan god Verethraghna is identified with the sacred fire of the Parsis, which was the great spook-killer of the Magi, it appears that Agni Vṛtrahan and Verethraghna were, in all probability, closely related; but Verethraghna and Apām Napāt have no connection in the Avesta. In short Agni and Apām Napāt must have been decidedly distinct in the early days.

It is perfectly clear to us, to be sure, that the two kinds of lightning are really identical; but to assume that the early Vedic Hindus or the Indo-Iranians possessed the same knowledge is to attribute to them a degree of intellectual power in the analysis of natural phenomena which their whole religious history belies. If they ever discovered the actual identity of the two, it must have been the result of some accidental combination of circumstances, the full force of which they would be very slow to admit. In fact, just such an accident might account for the statement which appears in ii. 35. 13, "Apām Napāt is-active here in another's body, so-to-speak," i. e., when he appears on earth, he looks like Agni; but this does not prove the identity of the two.

Turning again to Trita, it will be noticed that he is called *āptyá*, 'dwelling-in-the-waters,' i. e., the clouds; and the title is significant. If the three gods are grouped together, we shall have: 'Agile-one,' the fire-producing-stroke or the blinding-flash, who is active on the earth; 'Son of the Waters,' the distant-descending-bolt, who is born in heaven and descends from his golden seat, and is therefore a god located in the air; and 'Third Whose-home-is-in-the-clouds,' a divinity of the sky. In other words, the three will constitute an incipient triad which must be very ancient.

It may not be unreasonable to suppose that the original Hindu triad, or an Indo-Iranian triad, was so constituted. But, since the blinding flash came down from the clouds as well as the distant bolt, Agni was occasionally spoken of as a "son of the waters," and this fact may have ultimately led to a confusion of the two. Whatever the cause may have been, Apām Napāt seems to have been so overshadowed by the remarkable development of Agni that he lost his character as a distinct god and was then practically absorbed. In the meantime the light and heat of the sun had come to be attributed to Agni; and, as the sun is evidently higher than the lightning, it was a natural step forward to assign to the sun the highest position, while Trita dropped back into second place. In time, Trita's turn also came; and, as he yielded his chief feats and characteristics to Indra in other things, he may well have been displaced, as god of the atmosphere, by his more popular rival.

Just what connection Vāyu had with the matter when the triad finally emerged from the nebulous state into a well recognized group, cannot be determined, beyond the mere fact that, as god of the wind, he was naturally the god of the atmosphere; but, in any case, his connection with the latter triad came rather from his relation to Indra than from any association with the other gods concerned.

*The Milk-drinking Hañsas of Sanskrit Poetry.*—By CHARLES  
R. LANMAN, Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge,  
Mass.

THE Hindus say that the bird called *hañsa* has the faculty, out of a vessel of mingled milk and water, to separate and drink the milk and leave the water. To this wide-spread popular belief frequent allusion is made in the literature; and for it there must be some basis in the facts of natural history.

The facts which gave rise to the belief are in my opinion the following: the aquatic bird *hañsa* lives on lakes that abound in lotuses, and subsists in a measure upon the underground stalk of the lotus plant (such a stalk is called *bisa*), whose joint (*granthi*), when crushed (*bhagna*), exudes a juice designated by the word *kṣīra*, which is also a common name for milk. Thus the bird, as it floats on the lake, may be said to drink *kṣīra* or milk out of water.

For the sake of students of Sanskrit and others, it may be worth my while to assemble some of these allusions in the literature. And again it may be useful to put together the statements about the character and habits of the *hañsa* in order to subject them more easily to the criticism of students of natural history.

But first a word as to the general scope of these allusions. They are indeed often made directly in praise of the noble *hañsa*, and to show its superiority for instance to the heron; but oftener still, the point of the allusion is the marvelous discrimination,<sup>1</sup> fine and clear, displayed in the separation of things so hopelessly mixed as milk and water.<sup>2</sup>

Beautifully appropriate uses of our fable are made by the philosophers. Thus in the 'Tattva-muktāvalī' we read: "Others

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<sup>1</sup> Mentioned already by H. T. Colebrooke in a note to H. H. Wilson's "Analytical account of the Pancha Tantra" (1824), *Works*, ed. Rost, iv. p. 8. Benfey cites the note, *Pantschatantra*, ii. p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> The intimacy of this mixture is praised by the poets as absolute and complete (*Sprüche*, 2024), and it is thus a type of the closest friendship and mutual devotion (ib. 2026).

<sup>3</sup> Edited and translated by Cowell, 1883, *JRAS.* xv. pp. 149, 167, *çloka* 85.

see not the difference when water is mixed with milk, but the swan at once separates the milk and the water; so too when the souls are absorbed in the supreme Brahman, the Lord,—the faithful, who have received the Guru's words, can at once draw a difference between them." Again, the Sāṃkhya aphorism, iv. 23, says: "By him who is free from passion what is to be left [i. e. Nature] is left, and what is to be taken [i. e. Soul] is taken; as in the case of the swan and the milk." And again, the beginning of the second *vallī* of the Kaṭha Upaniṣad says: "The better is one thing, and the more agreeable is another. . . . The wise man weighs them both well, separates them (*vi-vinakti*), and chooses the better." Çaṃkara, in his Bhāṣya, illustrates this by the fable of the *haṅsa*. *Vi-vinakti* is from the same root as *vi-vecana* which is used of the *haṅsa's* exploit.

First then—some of the allusions. The introduction to the Pañcatantra contains the familiar stanza *anantapāram* etc., which, as I thought it a fit motto for a brief Sanskrit grammar that I was minded to make, I Englished<sup>2</sup> as follows:

An endless science, as we know, is grammar.  
And life is short; the hindrances are many.  
Essentials keep, leaving the non-essential,  
As swans drink up the milk, but leave the water.<sup>3</sup>

Here we may notice the passage in Kālidāsa's Çakuntalā,<sup>4</sup> where an invisible being behind the scenes is threatening the buffo's life. Here the king promises that his arrow, which he thinks to let fly, shall slay the villain and spare the buffo—with the same uncommon discrimination that the *haṅsa* uses as betwixt the milk and the water.

In Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, 2d ed., the following numbers make express mention of the *haṅsa's* gift:

- 243, *anantapāram*, from *Pañcatantra*, introd. 5;  
245, *anantaçāstram*, from Old Cānakya, xv. 10;  
544, *ambhojinī*-, from Bhartṛhari, *Nūṭīçataka*, 18;

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting comment hereon in J. R. Ballantyne's *Sāṃkhya Aphorisms*, 3d ed., London, 1885, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> A dozen years ago, more or less. It has since then been put to this very use by R. Fick, *Praktische Grammatik der Sanskrit-Sprache*, Wien, no date, p. VII.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Kielhorn's note to this stanza in the *Notes* to his edition.

<sup>4</sup> Near the end of act vi., especially the stanza 155 (Böhtlingk) or 182 (Pischel).

- 4923, *prājñas tu*, from MBh. i. 74. 91=3078 ;  
 6211, *viçvāsojjhita-*, from *Rāja-taraṅginī*, vi. 275 ;  
 7358, *haṅsaḥ çveto*, from *Subhāṣitārṇava* ;  
 7605, *vedādyanekacāstrāṇi*, from the same.

About the stanzas from the *Sprüche* a few words may be of interest. No. 4923 is from the old Epic story of Çakuntalā, where she says: "On hearing good and evil counsel, a fool takes the evil, as a swine does filth, and a wise man takes the good, as the *haṅsa* the milk." Cāṅakya's verses, badly mutilated, are recognizable in the famous *Sidharubam seu grammatica Samscrdamica* . . . auctore Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, Rome, 1790, p. 19. Bhartṛhari's stanza is thus rendered in Abraham Roger's *Offne Thür zu dem verborgenen Heydenthum*, Nürnberg, 1663, p. 506-7: "Wann *Bramma* auf seinen Träger *Ampsa*<sup>1</sup> zornig ist, kan er ihn zwar wol aus seinem Wasser-pfuhl vertreiben ; aber ihm gleichwol die Macht nicht benehmen, dass er (wofern Milch und Wasser untereinander vermenget) die Milch nicht solte allein trinken, und das Wasser überlassen können."

The Indian anthologies contain chapters, certain sections of which form a kind of Oriental bestiary. Among these are sections made up, wholly or in part, of epigrams concerning the *haṅsa*. Four such collections may be noticed :

*The Paddhati of Çārṅgadhara* [A. D. 1363], ed. by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1888. Nos. 796-814 are called *haṅsānyoktayah*.

*The Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva* [A. D. 1400-1450], ed. by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1886. Nos. 689-717 are about *haṅsas* and *sārasas*.

*The Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṅḍāgāram, or Gems of Sanskrit Poetry*, selected and arranged by K. P. Paraba, 2d ed., Bombay, 1886.

Nos. 3-40, pages 367-369, are of *haṅsas*.

*Subhāṣita-ratnākara*, compiled and edited by K. Bhāṭavaḍekara, Bombay, 1888. Nos. 1-19, pages 217-220, are of *haṅsas*.

In all these stanzas from the Indian anthologies, the material is similar or in good part identical, and of course from very diverse sources. Among these stanzas, the following ten make reference to the *kṣīra-nīra-vivecana*: in Çārṅgadhara, only no. 797; in Vallabhadeva, nos. 697 and 716; in Parab's collection, nos. 6, 10, 15, and 20; in Bhāṭavaḍekar's, nos. 2, 14, and 18. Of

<sup>1</sup> *Ampsa* [*haṅsa*] sind ein Geflüg, fast wie die kleinen Endvögel [Enten].—Roger.

these, 797, 15, and 2 simply repeat Bhartṛhari's stanza; 6 = *Sprüche* 7358; and 10 and 14 are a pleasing quotation from Bhāminīvilāsa, i. 13, ed. L. R. Vaidya, Bombay, 1887. Thus there are five with new allusions, namely 697, 716, 20, 18, and 10=14.

Of the many stanzas without these allusions, almost all are interesting and instructive as to the character and habits of the *haṅsa*. Richest in points of description are perhaps Vallabhadeva's nos. 715 and 710, which read thus :

No. 715. "His beauty is enchanting; charming his mate. For drink, he has the sweet juice<sup>1</sup> of the lotus; and for a playground, the waters. Among the lotuses is his dwelling; their pollen is his ornament. He subsists on the excellent underground stalk of the lotus.<sup>2</sup> His friends are the sweet-humming bees.—Free from servile labor, poverty, and humiliation, happy lives the *haṅsa*!"

No. 710. "There are everywhere waters clear as pearl, with lotus-roots whose knots show milk when they are crushed;<sup>3</sup> abundant draughts of lotus-juice;<sup>4</sup> sand-banks fit for sport and play. What means this, then, O *haṅsa*, that thou takest up thine abode in this horrid, muddy, old pool, beset with impudent shrieking herons?"

Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, stanza 11, is relevant at this point. The Yakṣa says to the cloud that is to bear the message to his wife, "The *rāja-haṅsas*, eager to get to lake Mānasa, will be thy companions as far as mount Kāilāsa, having pieces of the shoots of the *bisa* as their provisions for the journey (*pātheya* or viaticum)." H. H. Wilson<sup>5</sup> says: "The *Rājahansa* is described as a white *gander*, with red legs and bill, and together with the common *goose* is a favourite bird in *Hindu* poetry. Not to shock *European* prejudice, I have in all cases substituted for these birds, one to which we are rather more accustomed in verse, the *swan*." In rendering *haṅsa* by 'swan' instead of 'gander,' or 'goose,' Wilson has been generally followed; but Jerdon says, under the *Cygnidae*, that there are no swans in India. Kālidāsa again speaks of the *bisa* as the *pātheya* or viaticum of the *rāja-*

<sup>1</sup> *madhu*.—<sup>2</sup> *bisa*: cf. Vallabhadeva, 717°.—<sup>3</sup> 'Stalk-knots with milk that appears (*vilasant*) upon breaking (*bhaṅga*).'<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'tāmarasa-extract or -liquor.'

<sup>5</sup> *The Megha Dūta, translated, etc.*, London (reprint of Calcutta ed.), 1814, p. 88.

*hañsa*, to wit, in his *Urvaḡi*.<sup>1</sup> And again, in the same play, at the end of act i., as *Urvaḡi* ascends to the sky, *Purūravas* says that she has torn his heart out of his body, as the *rāja-hañsī* tears the stringy fibre out of a lotus-stalk, the end of which she has broken off.

Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, in reply to my inquiry, kindly wrote me a letter dated Poona, July 16, 1888. From it a part of the words or of the substance may be given. "The physical facts, as distinguished from poetic fancies, that may be gathered from the allusions to the bird in Sanskrit poetical works appear to be these : 1. The birds are white, some having dark and others red bills and legs. 2. They feed on lotus-stalks (*bisa*). This lotus is of the *Nelumbium* order. They are also spoken of as fond of the water-lily of the *kumuda* species. 3. They pass their time in large lakes or ponds or on sand-banks of rivers. 4. They migrate about the setting in of the rains,<sup>2</sup> i. e. about the middle or end of May, to the North, and must be supposed to come to India in the beginning of the cold season, i. e. about the end of November."

He then cites C. J. Jerdon's *Birds of India*, vol. iii., and especially Jerdon's notices of the family of the *Anseridae*. One species, *Anser cinereus*, corresponds, says Jerdon, to the wild goose or gray lag-goose of England, and is a common winter visitant to the North of India, extending its migrations to Central India, but rarely seen further South. It is sometimes met with in small parties of from four to twenty; occasionally in vast flocks, which feed on young corn, grass, etc.,<sup>3</sup> and during the heat of the day rest on some sand-bank in the large rivers or in the middle of a tank. The *Anser Indicus* is a goose that appears to be peculiar to India and probably the adjacent countries north of the *Himālayas*, where it breeds. It is chiefly a winter visitant to India.—So far Jerdon.

Habits and character of the *hañsa*. The mode of flight of the wild geese as they migrate northward or southward is spoken of in characteristic phrase in the *Rigveda*, iii. 8. 9, *hañsā iva çreṇiço yatānāḥ*, 'like wild geese that move in single file (*Gänsemarsch*);' so i. 163. 10. Their swiftness (*java*) is praised at

<sup>1</sup> Stanza *paçcāt saras*, *Bollensen*, no. 94, *Parab and Telang*, iv. 31.

<sup>2</sup> See *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, lxix. 129-32, *Bombay ed.*

<sup>3</sup> Although Jerdon does not speak of the *Anseridae* as feeding on lotuses, the point is not doubtful.

Sutta-nipāta, 221, as against the slowness of the gaudy peacock. Their breeding-place and true home is the Himālayan lake Mānasa,<sup>1</sup> whose glories are the subject of many a verse,<sup>2</sup> and with which the every-day waters of India are set in contemptuous contrast.<sup>3</sup> Their fondness for sandy banks is implied in the Çakuntalā,<sup>4</sup> where the king, speaking of the unfinished background of the picture of Çakuntalā, sends for his brushes, saying, "The river Mālinī must yet be painted in, with a pair of *hañsas* resting on its sandy bank, and the Himālayan foot-hills behind it."

Their beauty or splendor (*çobhā*) surpasses that of a thousand herons.<sup>5</sup> Their angry pride is the subject of a beautiful epigram, Çārṅgadhara, 800. Their superb dignity is told in the stanza,<sup>6</sup> "When near him the harsh chattering *jacana* shrilly shrieks, the *rāja-hañsa* either goes away or keeps silent"; and still better in the stanza<sup>7</sup> so charmingly rendered by Rückert,

Und wenn auf Erden gleich  
Bliebe kein Lotosteich,  
Doch scharfte nie der Schwan  
Im Miste wie der Hahn.

The lofty devotion of Sumukha, so touchingly described in the Jātaka-mālā, xxii., may be a figment of Ārya-çūra's piety; but it is significant that it is ascribed to a *hañsa*.

Dr. Elliott Coues of Washington, in most kindly response to my ornithological queries, propounds the following interesting solution of the milk-drinking fable: The members of the swan, goose, and duck tribe, and the flamingos also, have a series of lamellae on each edge of each mandible, which serve as a sieve for straining food from the water which they take in. A little poetic fancy would easily turn this habit into the exploit of separating "milk" (i. e. food or nourishment) from "milk-and-water" (i. e. water with food in suspension).

I think this can hardly be right: first, because the fable attributes this strange power, not to all of the Lamellirostres

<sup>1</sup> This is on mount Kāilāsa and is a sacred place of pilgrimage.—  
<sup>2</sup> E. g. Kathā-sarit-sāgara, xlvi. 86 f.; Parab's collection, p. 365, no. 21; Çārṅgadhara, 805; cf. Jātaka-mālā, ed. Kern, p. 130<sup>ff</sup>.—<sup>3</sup> Çārṅgadhara, 805, 814.—<sup>4</sup> Stanza 144, Böhlingk, 168, Pischel.

<sup>5</sup> Parab, p. 367, no. 5.—<sup>6</sup> Çārṅgadhara 798, Vallabhadeva 692, Parab, p. 367, no. 8, *Sprüche* 408.—many variants.—<sup>7</sup> Ç. 811, Vall. 691, Parab, p. 367, no. 9, *Sprüche*, 5220.



(not, for example, to the *cakravāka* or Anas Casarca), but only to the *haṅsa* and *rāja-haṅsa*; and, secondly, because this particular word for milk, *kṣīra*, is never used for food or nourishment in general. *Kṣīra* is used of the milk of cows, goats, and women, and especially of the milky juice of the broken stalks of flowers.<sup>1</sup> And a Sikh gentleman, Mr. Hari Singh Purī, on a visit here from India, assured me last week that the juice from the crushed or broken lotus stalks is milky in color.

It remains to inquire whether this fable can be traced back to Vedic literature. The stanzas RV. x. 131. 4, 5, and especially the occurrence of the word *vy āpibas*, used elsewhere of 'separating mingled liquids in drinking,' hardly prove the fable to be known to the Rigveda; but I refer the reader to the learned discussions of the passage by Bloomfield and Oldenberg.<sup>2</sup>

The Yajurveda, on the other hand, does speak of a bird, a *kruñc* or curlew, which can separate and drink the milk from water with which it is mingled. The passage occurs in the *Māitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, iii. 11. 6, in the *Kāṭhaka*, xxxviii. 1, in the *Vājasaneyī*, xix. 72-79, and in the *Tāittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 6. 2<sup>3</sup>. I quote from the first-named text :

*adbhyāḥ kṣīrān vyāpibat*  
*krūññ āngirasó dhiyá . . . .*  
*adbhyāḥ sómam vyāpibac*  
*chāndobhir haṅsāḥ ꡄuciṣāt, etc.*

Other mention of this power of the curlew I have not found save in two passages<sup>4</sup> from the Pāli Buddhist literature. One is from the *Udāna*, viii. 7, "The wise man leaves the evil as the milk-drinking curlew the water," *vidvā pajahāti pāpakam koñco khārapako va ninnagam*. The other is from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 305, where Buddhaghosa likens a true disciple to a curlew, because, if a bowl of spirits and water were put to his mouth, only the water would enter it and not the spirits; just as,

<sup>1</sup> E. g., *Çakuntalā*, ed. Pischel, st. 59, *sammīlanti*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mahīdhara's *vivicya pīlavān*.

<sup>3</sup> JAOS. xv. 148 ff., 159. And *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1893, no. 9. The story of the milk-drinking eagle (*suparṇa*), cited above by Oertel, JAOS. xix. 102, 101, does not refer to the milk-separating power now under discussion.

<sup>4</sup> Cited by Dr. R. Morris, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* for 1887, p. 168.

he continues, if a mixture of milk and water were offered to the *kruñc*-birds, only the milk would be taken by them and not the water.

Sāyana, in his comment on TBr. ii. 6. 2, says that the *haṅsa* is the soul in living beings, and that Indra, taking on its form, drank the soma, separating it from the water; and then, with some other curious remarks<sup>1</sup> suggested by the passage, adds the following illustration (p. 660):

*yathā loke kruñ krāuñca-pakṣī . . . dhiyā sva-buddhyā kṣīram adbhyo vivicyāpibat, kṣīra-pātre sva-mukhe prakṣipte sati, mukha-gata-rasa-samparkāt, kṣīrāñço jalāñçaḥ cobhāu vivicyete, tatra jala-bhāgam parityajya kṣīra-bhāgam eva pibati,—tadvad ayam indro 'pi soma-rasāṁ jala-bhāgād vivicya pibati.*

Here the point of most interest for us seems to be that the milky part of the mixture is coagulated by contact or mingling (*samparkāt*) with the fluid (*rasa*) in the mouth (*mukha-gata*) of the bird when it puts its bill (*mukha*) into the vessel (*pātra*).

Now by a singular coincidence, Swāmī Abhedānanda, a Bengali gentleman, calling at my study last week on the same day as Mr. Puri and while my mind was upon the subject of this essay, told me that his teacher had explained the *haṅsa*-fable to him by saying that there was a secretion in the bird's mouth which coagulated the milky part of the mixture,<sup>2</sup> so that the resulting curdy portions became easily separable. Whether there is any acidulous *rasa* or any rennet-like *rasa* in the *haṅsa*'s mouth, I must leave to the ornithologists. At any rate, the Swāmī's theory seems to be essentially like that of Sāyana.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 7, 1898.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *evam indro 'py asāram parityajya ekasminn api pātre sāram eva svī-karoti*, p. 661.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat after the fashion of rennet? But see *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*, 1898, vol. ii., p. 216, s.v. *Cheese*, on the character of the action of rennet, etc., in coagulating the curd.

*Shamgar and Sisera.*—By GEORGE F. MOORE, Professor in  
Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

It has long been recognized that Jud. iii. 31, which tells how Shamgar killed six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad, was inserted by one of the latest editors of the book. It has not, however, been so generally observed that certain recensions of the old Greek version (codd. 44, 54, 56, 59, 75, 76, 82, 106, 134 H-P; *sub obel.* 121), together with the Hexaplar Syriac, Armenian, and Slavic versions, have the account of Shamgar's exploit a second time after xvi. 31.<sup>1</sup> Here, immediately following Samson, the Philistine-fighter is quite in order. Comparison of the renderings in the two places shows that the verse was not repeated at the end of c. xvi. by an editor of the Greek text, but was found there by the translators in their Hebrew manuscripts, and in a form more original than that which we now read in iii. 31. The introductory formula, *καὶ ἀνέστη μετὰ τὸν Σαμψων Σαμμεγάρ υἱὸς Εναν* = ויקם אחרי שמשון שמגר בן ענת corresponds closely to x. 1, ויקם אחרי אבימלך להושיע את ישראל, תולע בן פואה while in iii. 31 the Hebrew has the awkward and unparalleled ויהי אחריי (LXX. ἀνέστη). There is thus good reason to think that the verse at first stood after the story of Samson, and was subsequently, for some reason, removed to a place between Ehud and Barak.

That Shamgar cannot have been the original hero of this story is proved both by the earlier position of the verse (following Samson), and—more conclusively—by the fact that the Philistines did not appear upon the scene till long after the time of Deborah and Barak. The natural hypothesis is that the name of the champion was accidentally corrupted to Shamgar, under the influence of v. 6, which necessarily led to the transposition of the verse from the end of c. xvi. to the end of c. iii.<sup>2</sup>

In Jud. v. 6 "the days of Shamgar ben Anath, the days of Jael," are the time of distress and humiliation for Israel which

<sup>1</sup> See Budde, *Richter*, 1897, p. x; also *SBOT. Judges*, on xvi. 31.

<sup>2</sup> For a conjecture about the origin of the notice, see *Judges* (International Critical Comm.), p. 106.

preceded the rising of the tribes under Deborah and Barak. The words "in the days of Jael" are rightly noted by many critics (since Geddes) as a gloss. But when these words are rejected and it is shown that the deliverer of iii. 31 was not Shamgar, there is no reason for regarding Shamgar as an Israelite at all; it is, on the contrary, much more probable that he was the oppressor under whom Israel groaned.<sup>1</sup> This view is strongly confirmed by the name itself; *Shamgar* is not a Hebrew nor even a Semitic word, and *ben Anath* is without even remote analogy among Hebrew proper names.

Sisera, against whom the Israelites rose in revolt, was then the successor, and probably the son (see Jud. v. 28 ff.) of Shamgar.<sup>2</sup>

Now, Shamgar ben Anath and Sisera are not Canaanite names. Anath is a goddess worshipped, not only in ancient Palestine, but especially by the Hittites in Northern Syria; a Sangar was king of Gargamiš—then the chief city of the Hatti—in the days of Ašurnāširpal and Sahnānassar II (9th cent. B. C.). The name Sisera is naturally compared with the numerous Hittite names on Egyptian monuments ending in *-sira*.<sup>3</sup> The Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon (8th cent.) make repeated mention of a Pisisis or Pisiri, king of Gargamiš. Shamgar and Sisera thus both point to a non-Semitic people north of Palestine. Marquart's conjecture, however, that for חרשת הננים the residence of Sisera, we should read קרש החתים, though applauded by Ruben, is not supported by the topography of the poem.

Shamgar ruled in Palestine; Sisera appears in the Song at the head of the kings of Canaan. The two names bring us thus upon an historical fact of great importance. In the days of Deborah and Barak a foreign ("Hittite") dynasty was established in Palestine; the Canaanite city-kings, at least in the vicinity of the Great Plain, were its vassals.

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<sup>1</sup> Moore, *Judges*, 1895, pp. 106, 143; Marquart, *Fundamente*, 1896, p. 2; Budde, *Richter*, 1897, p. 42; Ruben, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, x. p. 556.

<sup>2</sup> *Judges*, p. 143, Marquart, Ruben.

<sup>3</sup> *Judges*, pp. 106, 112.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,**

AT ITS  
MEETING IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,

1898.

The Annual Meeting of the Society for 1898 was held in Hartford, Conn., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 14th, 15th, and 16th.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions :

Barber, Miss	Gottheil	Jackson	Paton
Bliss, F. J.	Gray	Jastrow, M. Jr.	Prince
Blodget	Grieve, Miss L. C. G.	Lanman	Remy
Bloomfield	Grieve, Miss L. H. R.	Lawler	Scott
Brooks, Miss	Harper, W. R.	Macdonald	Torrey
Corwin, Miss	Hart	Martin, W. R.	Toy
Driscoll	Haupt	Mead	Van Name
Elwell	Haynes, H. H.	Mitchell	Ward, W. H.
Ferguson	Hopkins	Moore	Wright, T. F.
Gilman	Hoppin	Oertel	[Total, 39.]

Bishop

Fairbanks

Gillett

The Society met on Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock, in Hosmer Hall of Hartford Theological Seminary, and was called to order by its President, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Baltimore, April 22d, 23d, and 24th, 1897, were read and approved.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by Professor Macdonald in the form of a printed program, with a recommendation that the morning sessions of the Society begin at half-past nine o'clock, and the afternoon sessions at three o'clock. Professor Macdonald also presented to the Society an invitation from the Faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary to a reception in the Case Library from half-past four to six o'clock on Thursday afternoon; and a communication from the Colonial Club extending to the members of the Society the hospitality of the Club. The recommendations were adopted, and the invitations accepted with the thanks of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported that a large number of letters had been received from scholars to whom the Whitney Memorial Volume had been sent. As the tributes to the memory of Professor Whitney had already appeared in the volume itself, these letters contained, for the most part, only formal acknowledgments.

An invitation has been received from the Committee on the Organization of the Twelfth Oriental Congress, through its President, Professor Angelo de Gubernatis, to the American Oriental Society to take part in that Congress, which will be held in Rome, beginning on October 2d, 1899.

The Saxon Missionary Conference announces a prize of 1000 Marks for a scientific treatise, in English or German, on the following subject: "Darstellung der religiösen und philosophischen Grundanschauung der Inder nach den Vedas, Upanischads und der Brahmanischen (besonders Vedānta-) Philosophie und Beurteilung derselben vom christlichen Standpunkte aus." The officers of the Conference desire to call the particular attention of American scholars to this prize, and to invite their competition.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Erman, of Berlin, on behalf of the Commission appointed by the Royal Academies of Berlin and Munich and the Royal Societies of Göttingen and Leipsic to prepare and publish a Dictionary of the Egyptian Language, laid before the American Oriental Society the plan of the work, and invited its coöperation in the collection of materials. To the completeness of this Thesaurus, which is designed to include all words that have been preserved in hieroglyphic or hieratic texts, it is important that the inscriptions and papyri not only in public museums but in smaller and private collections should be at the disposal of the Commission; and all members of the Oriental Society who have knowledge of such inscriptions or papyri are earnestly requested to send to the Commission copies, squeezes, or photographs of the same.<sup>2</sup>

The Corresponding Secretary reported the names of recently deceased members, as follows:

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Professor Henry Drisler, of Columbia University, New York City.

Mr. Ralph B. C. Hicks, of Harvard University.

Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conn.

Rev. Edward Webb, of Oxford, Pa.

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<sup>1</sup> Full particulars in regard to the nature of the essay will be found in an inset at the end of ZDMG. Bd. li. Heft 2; copies of this circular may also be obtained from Professor Hopkins. The manuscript must be sent in by June 30, 1899. The judges are Professor Windisch and Dr. Lindner in Leipzig, and Dr. von Schroeder in Innsbruck.

<sup>2</sup> This communication was received too late to be presented to the Society at its meeting. A Committee to collect a catalogue of the Egyptian material in this country was appointed in 1897; see Journal xviii. 386.

Remarks were made on the life and work of Professor Drisler by Professor Hopkins and Professor Jackson; on Mr. Hicks, by Professor Lanman; on Mr. Trumbull, by President Gilman and Dr. Ward; and on Mr. Webb, by Professor Lanman and Professor Moore.

The Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, for the year 1897, was presented through Professor Lanman. The Committee appointed at the last meeting to audit the Treasurer's accounts (Professors Toy and Lyon) reported as follows:

The undersigned, appointed a Committee to audit the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Oriental Society for the year ending December 31, 1897, find the same to be properly kept and correctly cast. They find the entries for all monies expended by the Treasurer to be properly vouched, and satisfactory evidence that all funds and balances reported in his statement are in his possession.

The analytical summary of the General Account is as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Balance (less advance \$699.75 from Charles River Bank, Dec. 1896) from old account, Dec. 31, 1896.....	\$1,667.17
Assessments (198) for 1897.....	\$971.00
Assessments (44) for other years.....	166.23
Sale of publications.....	320.71
Reimbursements for author's extras.....	37.42
Income from funds (other than Bradley fund).....	161.08
Total income for the year.....	1,656.39
Total receipts for the year.....	\$3,328.56

EXPENDITURES.

4 matrices.....	\$ 8.00
Nov. 1897, 8 reams paper at \$3.80.....	26.40
Journal, vol. xviii. pt. 1, printing.....	619.05
"    "    binding 501 copies & extras.....	82.15
"    "    distribution.....	60.16
Journal, vol. xviii. pt. 2, printing.....	605.82
"    "    binding 495 copies & extras.....	76.98
"    "    distribution.....	47.98
Journal, vol. xix. pt. 1, printing.....	208.88
"    "    binding 688 copies, & title.....	111.47
"    "    distribution.....	74.60
Interest on advances.....	11.60
Clerical assistance.....	36.80
Postage, express, etc.....	45.87
Job-printing and job-binding.....	89.92
Total disbursements for the year.....	2,050.18
Credit balance on Gen'l Account, Dec. 31, 1897....	1,278.48
	\$3,328.56

A statement from the Treasurer on the financial condition of the Society, accompanying his annual report, was read and referred to the Directors. The income of the Society in 1897 (\$1,656.39) was two hundred and fifty dollars more than in any previous year; this increase being due in part to the growth of the Society, but chiefly to unusually large receipts from the sale of publications (\$320.71), three Parts of the Journal (xviii. 1 and 2, xix. 1) having been issued during the year. The apparent excess of expenditures over receipts for the year, nearly four hundred dollars, is accounted for by the fact that the Whitney Memorial Volume, which was issued as the First Half of vol. xix. of the Journal (for January to June 1898) was paid for in 1897; this amount, approximating four hundred dollars, is thus really anticipated on the account of 1898, so that only the Second Half of vol. xix. remains to be paid for out of the income of the current year. There is reason to believe, therefore, that the next Annual Report of the Treasurer may show that this apparent deficit has disappeared.

The state of the funds is as follows :

A. PRINCIPAL OF SPECIAL FUNDS.	Dec. 31, 1896.	Dec. 31, 1897.
I. Bradley Type Fund (deposited in New Haven Savings Bank) .....	\$1,604.94	\$1,669.76
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings, Boston)..	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. Whitney Publication Fund (invested in eight shares of State National Bank stock).....	1,000.00	1,000.00
IV. Life Membership Fund (deposited in the Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston).....	75.00	75.00
 B. BALANCES BELONGING TO GENERAL ACCOUNT.		
V. Cash in Cambridge Savings Bank .....	\$2,222.07	\$1,075.56
VI. Cash in Provident Inst. for Savings, Boston..	131.83	171.75
VII. Cash in Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston.....	18.02	16.12
VIII. Cash on hand .....		10.00
	6,046.86	
Less due Charles River National Bank.....	699.75	
	\$5,347.11	\$5,018.19

The annual report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, showed that the accessions to the library during the past year have been 72 volumes, 114 parts of volumes, 167 dissertations and pamphlets, and one manuscript. The whole number of titles is now 4961; of manuscripts, 187.

The Editor of the Journal, Professor Moore, reported that in accordance with the instructions of the Directors, the Whitney Memorial Volume had been issued to the members of the Society as the First Half of vol. xix. (for Jan. to June, 1898); the Second



Half (for July to December) was in an advanced state of preparation, and would be issued as soon as the Proceedings of the present meeting could be prepared and printed.

Professor Jackson called the attention of the Society to the *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and urged upon the members the importance of supporting an undertaking which is of such vital concern to all orientalists, by assistance in furnishing bibliographical material, and by enlarging its subscription list.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected :<sup>1</sup>

#### HONORARY MEMBERS.

Auguste Barth, Member of the Institute, Paris.

M. J. de Goeje, Interpres legati Warneriani, and Professor in the University of Leyden.

Alfred Ludwig, Professor in the German University of Prague.

Gaston Maspero, Member of the Institute, Professor in the College of France, Paris.

Cornelis P. Tiele, Professor in the University of Leyden.

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.

Mr. David Park Barnitz, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. Harlan P. Beach, Montclair, N. J.

Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, London, England.

Mr. Laurell W. Demeritt, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. Victor W. Dippell, Philadelphia, Pa.

Miss Louise H. R. Grieve, M.D., New York, N. Y.

Mr. Armenag H. Haigazian, New Haven, Conn.

Rev. Dr. S. W. Howland, New York, N. Y.

E. B. Landis, M.D., Chemulpo, Corea.

Mr. Henry C. Lea, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, New Haven, Conn.

Prof. William N. Mebane, Fredericksburg, Va.

Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell, Hartford, Conn.

Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass.

Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Mr. Arthur F. J. Remy, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Alfred Stöckius, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Charles W. Watts, Smithland, Ky.

Mr. Lawrence P. Wolfe, New York, N. Y.

Prof. John Henry Wright, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 26.]

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<sup>1</sup> For convenience, the names of those who were elected at later sessions are included in this list. The full addresses are given in the revised List of Members, pp. 182 ff.

**MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.**

Rev. Dr. John H. Barrows, Chicago, Ills.  
Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, New York, N. Y.  
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, New Haven, Conn.  
Dr. Livingston Farrand, New York, N. Y.  
Prof. Arthur L. Gillett, Hartford, Conn.  
Mr. James H. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.  
Prof. George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass.  
Prof. George T. Ladd, New Haven, Conn.  
Mr. William W. Newell, Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage, New York, N. Y.  
Prof. Edwin R. Seligman, New York, N. Y.  
Prof. J. L. Stewart, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Prof. William G. Sumner, New Haven, Conn.  
Prof. Robert M. Wenley, Ann Arbor, Mich.

[Total, 14.]

Communications were presented by Messrs. Macdonald (No. 26*b* in the list below, p. 168 ff), Bloomfield (No. 3), Gray (No. 5).

At half-past four the Society adjourned, to attend a reception given by the Faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary.

The Society met on Friday morning at half-past nine o'clock.

The President appointed Messrs. Ward, Jackson, and Haupt a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, to report on Saturday morning.

Communications were presented by Messrs. Gottheil (No. 4 in the list; by title), Haupt (No. 9), Hopkins (No. 12, by title; 13), Jastrow (No. 18, by title), Jackson (Nos. 15, 16), Johnston (Nos. 20, 21; by title, through Prof. Haupt), Lanman (Nos. 22, 24), Macdonald (No. 26*a*), Magoun (Nos. 27, 28; through Prof. Hopkins), Mills (No. 29; through Prof. Hopkins), Oertel (No. 30), Remy (No. 33), Ward (No. 39), Scott (No. 35), Prince (No. 31), Wright (No. 40), and Torrey (No. 38).

At one o'clock the Society took recess till three.

At three o'clock the Society met in the Chapel of the Seminary. The afternoon was devoted to the reading of communications of a less technical character, by Messrs. Blodget (No. 1 in the list), Bloomfield (No. 2), Haupt (No. 6), Jackson (No. 17), Lanman (No. 23), Scott (No. 36). Papers were also read by Professor Haupt on Tattooing among the Semites; by Professor Lanman on Indian epigrammatic poetry; and by Dr. Fairbanks on The chthonic gods of the Greek religion (No. 45).

At a quarter of six the Society adjourned.

The Society met for its last session on Saturday morning at half-past nine, with Professor Lanman, Vice-President, in the chair.

Professor Hopkins announced from the Directors that the next annual meeting of the Society will be held in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1899. Also, that they had appointed Professor G. F. Moore Editor of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting to secure members for the Section for the Historical Study of Religions reported through Professor Jastrow, explaining the measures which they had adopted. The committee, consisting of Professors Toy, Gottheil, and Jastrow (Secretary), was continued.

The Committee on a Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in America, by Professor Gottheil, reported progress, and was continued.

The committee to nominate officers reported through Professor Jackson; and by unanimous consent the ballot of the Society was cast for the following officers for the ensuing year:

*President*—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Baltimore.

*Vice-Presidents*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor Edward W. Hopkins, of New Haven.

*Recording Secretary*—Professor George F. Moore, of Andover.

*Secretary of the Section for Religions*—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

*Treasurer*—Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named: and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil, A. V. W. Jackson, and Francis Brown, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; and Professor Henry Hyvernatt, of Washington.

In accordance with the program, the rest of this session was devoted to the reading and discussion of papers on the History of Religions, as follows:—Professor Bloomfield (No. 43 in the list below), Professor Toy (Nos. 46, 47), Dr. Bishop (No. 42), Professor Jastrow (No. 19).

The remaining papers on the list were presented by title, or in brief synopsis; viz. Messrs. Macdonald (No. 25), Haupt (Nos. 7, 8, 10), Hopkins (Nos. 13, 14, 44), Yohannan (No. 41), Torrey (No. 37).

The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society expresses its sincere thanks to the Faculty of the Hartford Theological Seminary for the use of their rooms, and for their kind reception; to the Colonial Club for its courtesies; and to the Committee of Arrangements for their efficient services.

At a quarter before twelve the Society adjourned, to meet in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th, 1899.

The following is a list of papers which were announced for presentation at the meeting. Those numbered 32 and 34 were not presented.

1. Rev. Dr. Henry Blodget, Bridgeport, Conn.; The worship of Heaven and Earth by the Emperor of China.
2. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; On a proposed photographic reproduction of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, the so-called Pāippalāda Saṁhitā.
3. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; Remarks on the myth of Purūravas and Urvaçī.
4. Professor Richard Gottheil, Columbia University; Contributions to Syriac folk-medicine.
5. Mr. Louis H. Gray, New York City; The metres of Bharṭhari.
6. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; Some criticisms of the Polychrome Bible.
7. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The Sumerian question.
8. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The origin of the Hebrew *nota accusativi*.
9. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; Why is the suffix of the second person in Semitic *-ka* instead of *-ta*?
10. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The termination of the construct state of the plural of masculine nouns in Hebrew.
11. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Hindu guilds.<sup>1</sup>
12. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; The village community in ancient India.
13. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Epic diction in Sanskrit.
14. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Religious phenomena of the plague in Bombay.
15. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; Notes on certain dramatic elements in Sanskrit plays.

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<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Yale Review*, May and August, 1898.

16. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; Indo-Iranian contributions.

17. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; On the death of Zoroaster.

18. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; On a certain funeral custom of the ancient Hebrews.

19. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; Adam and Eve in Babylonian literature.

20. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; Meissner's Supplement to the Assyrian Lexicon.

21. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; Proverbial quotations in cuneiform epistolary literature.

22. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; The milk-drinking swans of India once more.

23. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; Walking the deasil.

24. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; The occupations of priests and herdsmen as affecting Sanskrit diction.

25. Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary; The religious attitude of Averroes.

26. Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary; Notes: *a.* On Poe as an orientalist; *b.* On 1 Corinthians ii. 9 in Islam.

27. Professor Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio; Apām Napāt in the Rig Veda.

28. Professor Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio; The original Hindu Triad.

29. Dr. Lawrence H. Mills, Oxford, England; Asha is "The Law" in the Gâthas.

30. Professor Hanns Oertel, Yale University; Contributions from the Jâiminīya Brāhmaṇa.

31. Professor J. Dyneley Prince, New York University; Prepositional usage in Assyrian.

32. President F. P. Ramsay, Fredericksburg College; The meaning of ל, especially in למין and לאמר.

33. Mr. Arthur F. J. Remy, Columbia University; Indo-Iranian *jana—zana*.

34. Professor Frank K. Sanders, Yale University; The order of the early suras of the Quran.

35. Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.; The Polynesian words in English.

36. Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.; The "simplicity" of the savage.

37. Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; Note on the Kitāb Maṣāri' el-'Uṣṣāq.

38. Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; Bethulia in the Book of Judith.

39. Dr. William Hayes Ward, New York City; Hittite gods in Hittite art.

40. Professor Theodore F. Wright, New Church Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; The names of Jerusalem.

41. Rev. Abraham Yohannan, New York City; A brief description of some Syriac manuscripts just arrived from Persia.

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In the Section for the Historical Study of Religions the following papers were presented :

42. Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, New York; A point of view for the study of religions.

43. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; The theosophy of the Atharva-Veda.

44. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; How gods are made in India.

45. Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Yale University; The chthonic gods of the Greek religion.

46. Professor Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University; Taboo and morality.

47. Professor Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University; The "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft."

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## ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

APRIL, 1896—APRIL, 1898.

*From the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vols. xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii. 1-12. Boston, 1896-98. 8°.  
 Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. xii. 2, 3. Cambridge, 1896. 4°.

*From the American Antiquarian Society.*

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New series. Vol. x. 2, xi. Worcester, 1896-97. 8°.

*From the American Geographical Society.*

Journal of the American Geographical Society. Vols. xxviii, xxix. New York, 1896-97. 8°.

*From the American Philosophical Society.*

Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New series. Vol. xix. 1. Philadelphia, 1896. 4°.  
 Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. No. 149-156. Philadelphia, 1895-97. 8°.

*From the Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.*

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- v. ii. The Sāṅkhya-Pravacana-Bhāṣya ; or, Commentary on the exposition of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, by Vijñānabhikṣu. Edited by Richard Garbe. Cambridge, 1895. 8°.
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## LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, MAY, 1898.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

## I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Paris, France. (Rue du Vieux-Colombier, 6.) 1898.  
 Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.  
 His Excellency, OTTO VON BOEHTLINGK, 25 Hospital St., Leipzig, Germany.  
 1844.  
 Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.  
 Prof. EDWARD B. COWELL, Univ. of Cambridge, England. Corresp. Mem-  
 ber, 1868; Hon., 1898.  
 Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, Univ. of Jena, Germany. 1878.  
 Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Univ. of Breslau, Germany. (105 Kaiser Wil-  
 helm St.) 1893.  
 Prof. M. J. DE GOEJE, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.  
 Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, Univ. of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.  
 Prof. HENDRIK KERN, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.  
 Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, Univ. of Goettingen, Germany. (21 Hainholzweg.)  
 1887.  
 Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, Univ. of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.)  
 1898.  
 Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de  
 l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.  
 Prof. Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, Enfield House, Ventnor, Isle of Wight,  
 England. 1882.  
 The Rt. Hon. Prof. F. MAX MUELLER, Univ. of Oxford, England. Corresp.  
 Member, 1854; Hon., 1869.  
 Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, Univ. of Strassburg, Germany. (16 Kalbsgasse.)  
 1878.  
 Prof. JULES OPPERT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.)  
 1893.  
 Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (12 Wormser St., W.)  
 1887.  
 Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, Univ. of Oxford, England. 1893.  
 Prof. EBERHARD SCHRAEDER, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (20 Kronprinzen-  
 Ufer, N. W.) 1890.  
 Prof. FRIEDRICH VON SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. (49 Königin St.) Corresp.  
 Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.  
 Prof. CORNELIS P. TIELE, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.  
 Prof. ALBRECHT WEBER, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (56 Ritter St., S. W.)  
 Corresp. Member, 1850; Hon., 1869.  
 Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, Univ. of Leipzig, Germany. (15 Universitäts St.)  
 1890. [Total, 24.]

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

- DR. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.  
 NAGEEB J. ARBEELY, 45 Pearl St., New York, N. Y. 1893.  
 Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.  
 Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 29 Greene St., Providence, R. I. 1894.  
 WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON (Episcopal Theol. School), 1 Lawrence Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
 IRVING BABBITT (Harvard Univ.), 65 Hammond St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
 Prof. BENJAMIN WISNER BACON (Yale Univ.), 30 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.  
 Prof. MARK BAILEY, JR. (State Univ. of Washington), 1019 Chestnut St., Seattle, Wash. 1891.  
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Miss ANNIE L. BARBER, 1626 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
 DAVID P. BARNITZ, 30 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN (Episcopal Divinity School), 4805 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.  
 Rev. DANIEL M. BATES, St. Stephen's Rectory, Clifton Heights, Pa. 1890.  
 Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.  
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y. 1893.  
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
 Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, 41 Lyman St., Providence, R. I. 1891.  
 FREDERICK J. BLISS, Ph.D., 38 Conduit St., London, England. 1898.  
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.  
 Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, 4 Cours des Bastions, Geneva, Switzerland. 1897.  
 Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.  
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED (Univ. of Chicago), 515 62nd St., Englewood, Chicago, Ill. 1891.  
 Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theol. Sem.), 120 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
 Prof. DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. 1888.  
 Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, 28 Inman St., Cambridgeport, Mass. 1896.  
 Prof. CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.  
 Prof. FRANCIS BROWN, Union Theological Seminary, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.  
 Prof. JOSEPH BRUNEAU, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1896.  
 Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK (Univ. of Chicago), 5748 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1892.

- Prof. SYLVESTER BURNHAM, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1886.  
 Pres. GEO. S. BURROUGHS, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1880.  
 Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.  
 Dr. W. CALAND, 486 Seeligsingel, Breda, Netherlands. 1897.  
 Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.  
 Rev. SIMON J. CARR, 242 South 20th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.  
 Prof. A. S. CARRIER (McCormick Theological Seminary), 1042 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.  
 Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1873.  
 Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.  
 Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.  
 Miss EVA CHANNING, 90 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 1883.  
 Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.  
 CLARENCE H. CLARK, Locust and 42d Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.  
 Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.  
 Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, 1830 Sherman Ave., Denver, Colorado. 1894.  
 WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.  
 †GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.  
 Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.  
 Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.  
 SAMUEL VICTOR CONSTANT, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.  
 Dr. FREDERIC TABER COOPER, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.  
 Miss LUTIE REBECCA CORWIN, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1895.  
 Dr. CLARK EUGENE CRANDALL (Univ. of Chicago), 5455 Monroe Ave., Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill. 1886.  
 Mrs. OLIVER CRANE, 12 Concord Square, Boston, Mass. 1891.  
 Mr. STEWART CULIN (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 127 South Front St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. EDWARD L. CURTIS (Yale Univ.), 61 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
 Dr. CHAS. H. STANLEY DAVIS, Meriden, Conn. 1893.  
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
 LEE MALTBIE DEAN (Yale Univ.), 576 Iranistan Ave., Bridgeport, Conn. 1897.  
 LAURELL W. DEMERITT, 955 Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1898.  
 Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, 1466 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.  
 Rev. Dr. LYSANDER DICKERMAN, 39½ Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1882.  
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL F. DIKE, Bath, Me. 1883.  
 VICTOR W. DIPPPELL, 1230 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.  
 EPES SARGENT DIXWELL, 58 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1848.  
 Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.  
 Prof. JAMES F. DRISCOLL, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1897.  
 SAMUEL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1854.  
 HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 76 W. Divinity, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1894.

- JOS. H. DURKEE, care of Messrs. White & Wainwright, 54 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- CARL J. ELOFSON, Hutto, Texas. 1891.
- Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
- Prof. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT (Harvard Univ.), 53 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1859.
- MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, Powder Point School, Duxbury, Mass. 1897.
- Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, Washington and Lee Univ., Lexington, Va. 1888.
- ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.
- †Lady CAROLINE FITZ MAURICE, 2 Green St., Grosvenor Square, London, England. 1886.
- †FRANK B. FORBES, 56 Rue de la Victoire, Paris, France. 1864.
- †HON. JOHN M. FORBES, 30 Sears Bldg., Boston, Mass. 1847.
- JAS. EVERETT FRAME, Union Theol. Sem., 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- DR. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.
- Prof. BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- Miss ELLEN R. GILES, 3821 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
- Pres. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1857.
- RALPH L. GOODRICH, Clerk of the U. S. Court, Little Rock, Ark. 1888.
- Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 169 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
- JACOB GRAPE, JR., 432 East 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
- LOUIS H. GRAY, 212 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. W. HENRY GREEN, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1855.
- Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 136 West 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Miss LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., 136 West 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
- KARL JOSEF GRIMM, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- DR. J. B. GROSSMANN, 1942 North Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
- Rabbi DR. LOUIS GROSSMANN, Temple Beth El, Detroit, Mich. 1890.
- CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
- Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.
- A. H. HAIGAZIAN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- The Right Rev. CHAS. R. HALE, Bishop of Cairo, Cairo, Ill. 1860.
- Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
- Pres. WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.
- Prof. SAMUEL HART, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- DR. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1893.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2315 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
- Rev. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.

- REV. WILLIS HATFIELD HAZARD, West Chester, Pa. 1893.  
 COL. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.  
 PROF. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.  
 LEONARD KEENE HIRSBERG (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 581 Gay St., Baltimore, Md. 1896.  
 PROF. EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 235 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.  
 PROF. JAMES M. HOPPIN (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.  
 MONTAGUE HOWARD, 264 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1891.  
 REV. DR. S. W. HOWLAND, 850 West 56th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 MISS ANNIE K. HUMPHERY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1878.  
 PROF. HENRY HYVERNAT, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.  
 PROF. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.  
 REV. MARCUS JASTROW, 139 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.  
 PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.  
 REV. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.  
 PROF. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.  
 PROF. JOSHUA A. JOFFÉ (Jewish Theological Seminary), 736 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 DR. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 709 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.  
 R. P. KAREKARIA, Nepean Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India. 1897.  
 HERBERT KAUFMAN, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 PROF. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.  
 MISS ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Ph.D. (Radcliffe College), Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.  
 PROF. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Brown University), 163 Bowen St., Providence, R. I. 1890.  
 MISS ELISABETH T. KING, 840 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 RABBI GEORGE A. KOHUT, 141 Pocahontas St., Dallas, Texas. 1894.  
 REV. PAUL HENRY LAND, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 E. B. LANDIS, M.D., English Church Mission, Chemulpo, Corea. 1898.  
 †Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.  
 REV. JOSEPH LANMAN, First Presbyterian Church, Princeton, Caldwell Co., Kentucky. 1896.  
 REV. ROBERT J. LAU (Columbia University), P. O. Box 162, Weehawken, N. J. 1897.  
 THOMAS B. LAWLER, 89 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.  
 †HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.  
 PROF. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.  
 REV. CLIFTON HARRY LEVY, 109 East 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.

- ROBERT LILLEY, 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 1894.  
 Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1893.  
 HENRY F. LINSKOTT, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1896.  
 Rev. ARTHUR LLOYD, Keiogijuku College, Tokio, Japan. 1893.  
 Rev. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, Spuyten Duyvil, New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 Gen'l CHARLES G. LORING (Museum of Fine Arts), 1 Mt. Vernon Place,  
 Boston, Mass. 1877.  
 ARTHUR ONCKEN LOVEJOY (Harvard University), 1689 Cambridge St., Cam-  
 bridge, Mass. 1897.  
 PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Russell and Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass.  
 1893.  
 Prof. JULES LUQUIENS (Yale Univ.), 201 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn.  
 1878.  
 †BENJ. SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.  
 Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge,  
 Mass. 1882.  
 Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD (Hartford Theological Seminary), 811 Asylum  
 Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1893.  
 Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, 23 E. Divinity, Yale University, New  
 Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 115 West Lorain St., Oberlin, O. 1887.  
 Rev. JOHN R. MAHONEY, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.  
 Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
 Prof. DAVID C. MARQUIS (McCormick Theological Seminary), 322 Belden  
 Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1890.  
 Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.  
 Rev. DONALD J. MCKINNON, Catholic University of America, Washington,  
 D. C. 1897.  
 Prof. CHARLES MARSH MEAD, Hartford, Conn. 1867.  
 Prof. WILLIAM N. MEBANE, Fredericksburg College, Fredericksburg, Va.  
 1898.  
 Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri.  
 1892.  
 Rev. Dr. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, 29 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.  
 Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hart-  
 ford, Conn. 1898.  
 Rev. Dr. ALFRED BERNARD MOLDENKE, 124 East 46th St., New York, N. Y.  
 1892.  
 Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.  
 Prof. PAUL ELMER MORE, 5839 Plymouth Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1893.  
 Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.  
 Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, Springfield, Mass. 1898.  
 Rev. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S. J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Howard  
 Co., Md. 1889.  
 ISAAC MYER, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.  
 JENS ANDERSON NESS, Johns Hopkins University (Box 442). 1897.  
 GEORGE NATHAN NEWMAN, 80 Bryant St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1891.  
 Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.

- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 137 College St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
 Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1898.  
 GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.  
 †ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.  
 JOHN ORNE, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.  
 GEORGE W. OSBORN, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 Rev. GEORGE PALMER PARDINGTON, 194 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.  
 Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
 Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
 Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, 710 Madison St., Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.  
 Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 133 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
 Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.  
 Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.  
 Prof. SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O. 1885.  
 MURRAY E. POOLE, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.  
 WILLIAM POPPER (Columbia University), 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER (Harvard University), 18 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
 Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.  
 Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (New York University), 31 West 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.  
 HUGO RADAU, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1896.  
 Madame ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN, 207 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 Pres. F. P. RAMSAY, Fredericksburg College, Fredericksburg, Va. 1889.  
 Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Ghizeh Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.  
 ARTHUR F. J. REMY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Dr. CHARLES RICE, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.  
 EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON, Knox College, Toronto, Canada. 1892.  
 Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, U. S. Legation, Athens, Greece. 1880.  
 Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.  
 JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
 Rev. WILLIAM ROSENAU (Johns Hopkins University), Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 SANFORD L. ROTTER, 55 Oak St. (or care of E. J. Smith & Co., 65 and 67 Asylum St.), Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
 Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 484 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, Rosemary Hall, Wallingford, Conn. 1897.  
 THOMAS H. P. SAILER, 4046 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.  
 †Prof. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1842.  
 Prof. FRANK K. SANDERS (Yale University), 77 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.



- Rev. TOBIAS SCHANFARBER (Johns Hopkins University), 2030 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Dr. H. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
- Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, Radnor, Pa. 1895.
- J. HERBERT SENTER, 10 Avon St., Portland, Maine. 1870.
- THOMAS STANLEY SIMONDS, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1892.
- MACY M. SKINNER, 2849 Washington St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.
- Prof. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1884.
- MAXWELL SOMMERVILLE, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.
- Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 29 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. J. H. STEVENSON, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1896.
- Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- ALFRED STÖCKIUS, 78 East 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
- ALFRED W. STRATTON (Chicago University), 5602 Monroe Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1894.
- MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Prof. JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1884.
- Prof. J. HENRY THAYER (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
- Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Coll.), 730 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES C. TORREY, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
- Prof. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Rev. HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, 4103 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Prof. CHARLES MELLE TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
- EDWARD P. VINING, 532 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 1883.
- THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.
- †THOMAS WALSH, Yokohama, Japan. 1861.
- Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
- Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
- Miss CORNELIA WARREN, 87 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
- †HENRY CLARKE WARREN, 12 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- Pres. WILLIAM F. WARREN, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1877.
- Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, Towerhill (Guttenberg P. O.), N. J. 1893.
- CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, P. O. Box 149, Abington, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER (Cornell Univ.), 3 South Ave., Ithaca, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
- Dr. MOSES C. WHITE (Yale Univ.), 48 College St., New Haven, Conn. Corresp. Member, 1853; Corp., 1860.

- MISS MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.  
 MRS. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.  
 DR. EARLEY VERNON WILCOX, Montana College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Bozeman, Montana. 1896.  
 FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 185 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.  
 TALCOTT WILLIAMS ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.  
 DR. THOMAS WILSON, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1897.  
 REV. DR. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.  
 DR. ALBRECHT WIRTH. [Address desired.] 1894.  
 REV. STEPHEN S. WISE, 119 East 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.  
 LAWRENCE P. WOLFE, General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 REV. CHARLES JAMES WOOD, St. John's Rectory, York, Pa. 1892.  
 PROF. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 PROF. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
 PROF. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
 REV. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, St. Bartholomew's Parish House, 205 East 42d St., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 REV. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.  
 [TOTAL, 274.]

### III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

- REV. DR. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, 4812 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1898.  
 REV. DR. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 127 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 DR. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS (Yale Univ.), 77 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 DR. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 PROF. ARTHUR L. GILLETT, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.  
 JAMES H. HOFFMAN, 25 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 PROF. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harv. Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
 PROF. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 WILLIAM W. NEWELL, Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
 REV. DR. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 84th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 PROF. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 PROF. J. L. STEWART, 1401 North 17th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.  
 PROF. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 140 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 PROF. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.  
 [TOTAL, 14.]

## IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Prof. GRAZIADIO ISAIA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.
- Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.
- Prof. ADOLF BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.
- Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.
- Rev. Dr. HENRY BLODGET (formerly Missionary at Peking, China), 313 State St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1858.
- Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
- Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
- Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.
- Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.
- Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.
- Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.
- A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.
- HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of *The Missionary Review of the World*), 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Bengal Civil Service, Bankipur, Bengal. 1893.
- Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.
- Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.
- Dr. WILLABE HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
- Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Syria. 1887.
- Dr. JAMES C. HEFBURN, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1878.
- Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, The Madrasa, Wellesley Square, Calcutta, Bengal. 1893.
- Rev. SAMUEL R. HOUSE, M.D., Waterford, N. Y. 1856.
- DASTUR JAMASPJI MINOCHEHERJI JAMASP ASANA, Parsi Panchayet Lane, Bombay, India. 1887.
- Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
- Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. KELLOGG, The Firs, Landour, Mussoorie, N. W. P., India. 1872.
- Rev. Prof. ALBERT L. LONG, Robert College, Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.
- Rev. ROBERT S. MACLAY (formerly Missionary at Tokio, Japan), President of the Univ. of the Pacific, Fernando, Cal.
- Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Peking, China. 1858.
- Dr. DAVIE BETHUNE McCARTER, American Presbyterian Mission, Tokio, Japan. 1857.
- Prof. EBERHARD NESTLE, Ulm, Württemberg, Germany. 1888.
- Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, Athens, Greece. 1861.
- Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, Good Hope, Ill. 1881.
- ALPHONSE PINART. [Address desired.] 1871.
- Rev. ELIAS RIGGS, Missionary at Constantinople (Bible House), Turkey.
- Prof. LÉON DE ROSNY (École des langues orientales vivantes), 47 Avenue Duquesne, Paris, France. 1857.
- Rev. Dr. S. I. J. SCHERESCHEWSKY, Shanghai, China.
- Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1893.

- DR. JOHN C. SUNDBERG, U. S. Consul, Baghdad, Turkey. 1893.  
 REV. GEORGE N. THOMSSON, of the American Baptist Mission, Kurnool,  
 Madras, India. (Now at 432 Fifteenth St., Brooklyn, N. Y.) Corp.  
 Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.  
 REV. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, Missionary at Pasumalai, Madura, India.  
 REV. JAMES W. WAUGH, Missionary at Lucknow, India. (Now at Ocean  
 Grove, N. J.) 1878.  
 REV. JOSEPH K. WIGHT, New Hamburg, N. Y. Corp. Member, 1869.  
 [TOTAL, 42.]  
 Number of Members of the four classes (24 + 274 + 14 + 42 = 354.)

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SOCIETIES, LIBRARIES, ETC., TO WHICH THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN  
 ORIENTAL SOCIETY ARE SENT BY WAY OF GIFT OR EXCHANGE.

I. AMERICA.

- BOSTON, MASS.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.  
 CHICAGO, ILLS.: Field Columbian Museum.  
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 WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.  
 Bureau of American Ethnology.  
 WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

II. EUROPE.

- AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft.  
 PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.  
 FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)  
 Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.  
 Bibliothèque Nationale.  
 Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)  
 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)  
 Société Académique Indo-Chinoise.  
 GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 Königl. Bibliothek.  
 GÖTTINGEN: Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesell-  
 schaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)  
 GERMANY, LEIPZIG: Königl. Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 MUNICH: Königl. Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.  
 GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland  
 (22 Albemarle St., W.)  
 Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)  
 Society of Biblical Archæology. (37 Great Russell  
 St., Bloomsbury, WC.)  
 Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall,  
 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)

ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.

ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

THE HAGUE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.

LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.

NORWAY, CHRISTIANIA: Videnskabs-Selskab.

SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

RUSSIA, ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.  
Archeologiji Institut.

### III. ASIA.

CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CHINA, PEKING: Peking Oriental Society.

SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)

LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.

JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.

JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

TURKEY, CONSTANTINOPLE: Imperial Ottoman Museum.

### IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

### V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess-str., Munich, Bavaria).

Indogermanische Forschungen (care of Prof. W. Streitberg, Freiburg, Switzerland).

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Revue des Études Juives. (Librairie A. Durlacher, 88 bis, rue Lafayette, Paris, France.)

Revue Archéologique. (Rue de Lille, 2, Paris, France.)

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Good Hope, Illinois.

RECIPIENTS: 298 (Members) + 58 (Gifts and Exchanges) = 356.

VOL. XIX.

13

## REQUEST.

The Editor requests the Librarians of any Institutions or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify him of the fact. It is the intention of the Editor to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

Andover Theological Seminary.  
Chicago University Library.  
Harvard Sanskrit Class-Room Library.  
Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.  
Harvard University Library.  
New York Public Library.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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With Amendments of April, 1897.

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CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be :—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

#### BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. b. After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. c. At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall



also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAW.

##### I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

2

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL  
SOCIETY.

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For any of the above, address the Librarian of the Society, Mr. Addison Van Name, New Haven, Connecticut. Members can have the series at half price. To public libraries or those of educational institutions, Vol. I. No. 1, and Vols. II. to V. will be given free, and the rest (price \$67.50) sold at a discount of twenty per cent.

## TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Fifty copies of each article published in this Journal will be forwarded to the author. A larger number will be furnished at cost.

Arabic, Persian, Syriac (Jacobite and Nestorian), Armenian, Sanskrit, Tamil, Chinese, and Japanese fonts of type are provided for the printing of the Journal, and others will be procured from time to time, as they are needed.

## GENERAL NOTICES.

1. Members are requested to give immediate notice of changes of address to the Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, 12 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

2. It is urgently requested that gifts and exchanges intended for the Library of the Society be addressed as follows: "The Library of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. America."

3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.

4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. George F. Moore, Andover, Mass.

## CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP.

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is \$5. The fee for Life-Membership is \$75.

Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religions may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is \$2.; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.







